The Immortal Juche Idea

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Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
1984

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PREFACE

The Tower of Juche Idea radiates on the bank of the Taedong River where the aroma of spring is wafting. The tower rears its head high into the sky supported by the warm hearts of all people. The people throughout the world look up at it with a yearning heart and derive from it hopes and courage and confidence. And what does the tower stand for? It tells eloquently the height of the people's ardent desire to learn from the undying Juche idea. The great current of the time coursing its way in the wake of the flag of Juche like the majestic stream of the Taedong is flowing with a rush.

Last year I travelled many countries. Even before I had had some opportunities of travelling abroad, but not like the last one which left especially vivid impressions on me. The recent travel enabled me to see with my own eyes in the throbbing realities of creating a new life, not through papers or books, how vigorously the Juche idea is spreading with an irresistible attraction and encouraging people to speed along the road of true life.

In my conversations with many personalities from different social quarters, I realized keenly that all men of great aspiration, irrespective of their colours and languages, are studying the Juche idea and seeking in it the right path of life and struggle. If I had only seen timeworn relics of history or enjoyed exotic natural sceneries, my long journey across continents and oceans would not have left on me such deep impressions.

Standing on the bank of the Taedong watching its waters rippling in the spring breeze, I seem to see before my eyes the people who passionately told me of their successes in the study of the Juche idea rather than of the majestic snow-capped Himalayas or the unique

scenic beauties of their palm-covered island countries, and the dear friends who treated me, no more than a nameless scholar, with such warm hospitality just because I am their companion in the study of the Juche idea.

The power of truth is really great. For its indisputable trueness, the Juche idea is spreading far and wide over the globe.

Nothing is more worthwhile for a scholar engaged in the pursuit of truth than to study and expound a thought which shows the right path for the times and the people to follow, and therefore a thought which all people should learn from. Herein lies the reason why I have taken up the pen to write a book about the Juche idea.

More than half a century has passed since the Juche idea was founded. In this historical period replete with significant events unprecedented in the people's struggle for Chajusong, the Juche idea has given a strong impetus to the onward movement of the times, demonstrating its correctness and unfailing strength.

The Juche idea is further deepened and developed today by the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il who is brilliantly carrying forward to completion the revolutionary cause of Juche started by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

In the historical course of over half a century the Juche idea has constantly been developed and enriched along with the people's struggle for Chajusong owing to the distinguished ideological and theoretical activities of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il. It has really profound and diversified contents.

The Juche idea gives a scientific generalization of all valuable experiences accumulated by the people in their struggle for independence, sovereignty and the building of a new society. It also provides a comprehensive answer to all questions arising in remodelling nature and society and man in keeping with the independent requirements of the popular masses.

Writing this book, I tried to highlight in plain language the basic principles enunciated in the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il's im-

mortal classic *On the Juche Idea* with its extensive substance in which he comprehensively systematized, developed and enriched the idea.

If this book proves of a little help to the readers who begin to study the Juche idea, it will give me the greatest pleasure.

April 15, 1983 Author

I. HOW WAS THE JUCHE IDEA ORIGINATED?

Before going into the origin of the Juche idea, I think it necessary, first of all, to touch, if only in brief outline, on what the idea is. It may be tedious for readers who have already studied the Juche idea to some extent, but, since this book is intended for the beginners, it will be proper to do so.

The revolutionary thought initiated by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung comprises the Juche idea and the theory of revolution and method of leadership derived from it. Therefore, this thought is called an integral system of ideology, theory and method of Juche.

Yasui Kaoru who was Professor of Hosei University, Japan, and Director General of the International Institute of the Juche Idea, pointed out years ago that the revolutionary thought of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is a new original thought totally different from all the conventional ideologies. He said: "Now, this idea can be called Kimilsungism without hesitation. My protracted study and meditation led me to this conclusion." At present all those who understand this idea call it so. The Juche idea which is the subject of this book, is a major component of Kimilsungism so termed by the people of the world. Therefore, if one is to acquire a deep grasp of the revolutionary thought of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, one needs, above all, to make a profound study of the Juche idea.

What, then, is the Juche idea?

As the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the Juche idea is a man-centred outlook on the world which places man in the centre of all thinking and makes everything serve man and is a revolutionary theory designed to bring about the Chajusong of the popular masses. This means that the Juche idea is an idea which throws a new light, with man as the central factor, on all problems relating to the world outlook, and an idea which newly shows the right way of achieving the intrinsic desire and aspirations of the people for a free and happy life.

The essential characteristic of the Juche idea which distinguishes it from all ideas of the past is that it has given scientific answers to all problems arising in hewing out the destiny of man, the popular masses, with them as the central factor.

The Juche idea is, after all, an idea which thoroughly defends the Chajusong of the masses, brings their creativity into full play, and enables all people desirous of an independent life to live happily in union and cooperation. Therefore, this idea resolutely opposes all forms of domination and subjugation, exploitation and oppression and rejects all reactionary ideas such as flunkeyism towards great powers, dogmatism, national nihilism and racialism detrimental to man's Chajusong and creativity. In a word, the Juche idea is an idea which correctly reflects the desire and aspirations of the popular masses for enjoying a free and happy life as genuine masters of nature and society.

This is why today the Juche idea commands so strong a sympathy among the people aspiring for Chajusong.

How, then, was the Juche idea created?

One should not regard this question merely as a matter of learning about the history of the creation of the Juche idea.

The characteristics of all things and phenomena are closely connected with their origin. This is a point one should bear in mind to have a correct understanding of the whole content of the Juche idea.

The Aspirations of the Times and the People

To have a correct understanding of the origin of the Juche idea, one should know, first of all, what were the requirements of the times when it was created as their reflection

In general, ideological consciousness, whatever it may be, is born of some social practice There can be no ideology which has nothing to do with the people's social practice Even the absurd, fantastic ideas of the ancients were inseparably connected with the social practice of their time

Even now there are people who hold that an ideology is formed in the mind of this or that man regardless of social life What is their real intention? It is to justify their erroneous ideologies motivated by their interests The thought itself that ideologies are manufactured in the minds of some selected people independently of social life reflects their situation which makes it necessary for them to tell lies calling white black so as to subsist by deceiving and lording it over the people

After all, there can be no ideology, whether progressive or reactionary, detached from social practice

However, this should not be taken as meaning that all ideologies reflect the aspirations and demands of the times and the popular masses

Although all ideologies reflect social life, some of them mirror the aspirations and demands of the popular masses and some others express the interests of the exploiters The former is progressive

The thoughts reflecting the aspirations and demands of the masses play an important role in social and historical progress Because progressive thoughts, which reflect the aspirations and demands of the masses, the motive force of social progress, to lead an independent life as the masters of their destiny, inspire them to the struggle for transforming nature and society

The popular masses made up of people who act purposefully with ideological consciousness can be powerful creators of history only when they are guided by a progressive ideology

But the guiding idea of the revolution which shows the people the path of struggle for hewing out their destiny is not created at any time. It is always originated as a reflection of the urgent requirements of development of history and revolution.

Marxism which showed the working class the path of struggle for the first time emerged as a reflection of the demands of the historical period when they entered the arena of struggle as an independent political force opposed to capital, and Leninism which inspired the working class and the rest of the population to the struggle for destroying the imperialist strongholds and achieving freedom and liberation, came out as a reflection of the requirements of the historical epoch when capitalism had entered the phase of monopoly and the socialist revolution had become the order of the day.

Then, what was the time whose requirements the Juche idea reflected?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"Our leader created the great Juche idea after acquiring a deep insight into the requirements of a new era when the oppressed and humiliated masses of the people became masters of their own destiny. Thus he developed their struggle for Chajusong onto a higher plane and opened up the age of Juche, a new era in the development of human history." (*On the Juche Idea*, Eng. ed., pp. 3-4.)

In the mid-1920's when the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung embarked upon the road of revolution, a new change was taking place in the struggle of the people against exploitation and oppression. On the world arena, the influence of socialism, which had won its first victory, increased and the struggle of the people for Chajusong advanced rapidly.

In the late 1910's and early 1920's the people's struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital in such capitalist countries as Germany, Hungary, Japan, England and France surged forward vigorously. In these days the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples in the East was especially intensified to extricate themselves from colonial fetters. It swept across almost all the Asian countries including Korea, China, Mongolia, Viet Nam and Indonesia.

As the people's struggle for Chajusong mounted sharply, the imperialists stepped up plunder and tyranny against the people in an attempt to check the latter's revolutionary advance and to get out of their serious political and economic crises. In many countries antagonism between the people and the exploiters was aggravated and the masses of the people whose sovereign right had been trampled upon for a long time rose in a struggle for freedom and liberation. Thus, the struggle of the people for Chajusong emerged from narrow bounds into the world arena. This meant the advent of a new era when the revolutionary movement would develop in a comprehensive and diversified way throughout the world.

But the rapid upsurge of the people's struggle for Chajusong did not mean a smooth sailing of the revolutionary movement. Although the people rose against the oppressors, they were unable to find a correct road of struggle, and the revolutionary movement was like a ship drifting about without a compass on the vast ocean.

Under the new historical circumstances, what was needed to advance the revolutionary struggle of the people for Chajusong? It was a revolutionary guiding ideology showing the people of each country the way to solve all problems by their own efforts, conscious of being the masters of their own revolution, in keeping with the realities of their country.

A new historical era was dawning, and the ideologies of the past were incompetent to accelerate the forward movement of history. The times and the people ardently longed for the creation of a new guiding idea of revolution.

The question of creating the guiding idea of revolution which would make the people deeply conscious that they were the masters of the revolution and would show them the correct road of revolutionary struggle, was especially urgent in Korea.

There are a few important reasons for this.

One of them is that due to the peculiarities of Korea's historical development, the people were infected with flunkeyism to great powers which means lacking faith in their own strength and only looking to others for help, so that their struggle for Chajusong was hampered. The

history of Korea shows that there was no flunkeyism in the period of Koguryo with its great national power. Then, later, the power of the country declined due to its depraved and incapable feudal rulers and flunkeyism appeared. After that flunkeyism was fostered further by the colonial policy of the Japanese imperialist aggressors for stamping out the people's consciousness of national independence. Therefore, without clearing their minds of flunkeyism and infusing in them a deep consciousness that they were the masters of the revolution, it was impossible to advance the revolution.

Another reason is that the Korean revolution was very complex and arduous. The revolution in Korea, a colonial, semi-feudal society, was a difficult and complex revolution that had to solve simultaneously the anti-imperialist task of casting off the yoke of colonialism and the anti-feudal task of doing away with feudalistic exploitation and oppression. There was not a country that had carried out such a revolution until then nor a theory concerning such a revolution. As a matter of fact, the Korean revolution had to negotiate an untrodden path. Therefore, all problems arising in the revolutionary struggle had to be settled independently. Further, the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle was an unprecedentedly arduous one; the Korean revolutionaries had to fight against Japanese imperialism, a formidable enemy, with no state rear or support of a regular army while solving everything on their own.

For such reasons, the Korean revolution more urgently demanded that the popular masses, conscious of their position as masters, solve all problems by themselves in accordance with their own faith and the actual conditions of their country. In other words, the Korean revolution imperatively demanded that a new guiding idea be founded.

Historical relics on the patriotic martyr An Jung Gun are on display in the Korean Revolution Museum. He was a passionate patriotic youth who fought against the Japanese imperialists' aggression of Korea early in the present century when the dark clouds of national ruin hung heavily over Korea. Together with his comrades, he embarked on the road of struggle to recover the national sovereignty robbed by the Japanese imperialist aggressors. But he could not find a correct road of struggle, and once he tried to restore national sover-

eignty with the help of Western powers. Then he joined the independent movement and the Righteous Volunteers' Army. When everything ended in a failure, he resorted to terrorism At last, at Harbin Station he shot to death the then President of the Privy Council of Japan Ito Hirobumi, the mastermind of Korean aggression, who came there to meet the Financial Minister of Russia with a sinister design for invading the Asian mainland. However, this struggle brought about nothing but a great sacrifice. An Jung Gun cried out in prison: "I wish I could meet such a peerless great man who would deliver our country which is trodden underfoot and humiliated and launch it into the world as a dignified nation capable of holding its own . Ah, I wonder when such a hero will appear "

This cry from the bottom of his heart given at the last moment of his life was the cry of all Koreans who were longing for the appearance of an outstanding leader and a correct guiding idea

For lack of such a leader and guiding idea, the Korean people were at last robbed of their country by the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

After the country was reduced to a colony of Japanese imperialism, the Korean people fought unyieldingly and shed blood for freedom and independence But all this struggle met one setback after another because of the absence of a correct guiding idea showing the way of solving all problems by themselves as masters of the revolution in accordance with the actual conditions Thus, until the first half of the 1920's, the Korean revolution had traversed a thorny path, passing through many turns and twists.

Without a new guiding idea the Korean revolution was unable to advance even one step. Whether a correct guiding idea of revolution was provided or not was a serious question deciding the fate of the country and the nation at stake—whether it would be saved or the 20 million Koreans would be reduced to colonial slaves for ever

This urgent demand of the Korean revolution gave cause to the creation of the Juche idea

How, then, has the Juche idea which was born of the practical demand of the Korean revolution become the universal guiding idea of the revolutionary struggle of our time?

It is because the Korean revolution demanded more urgently than any other revolutions that all problems be solved by the Koreans themselves in keeping with their own faith and interests and the actual conditions of their country and, accordingly, it embodied in itself all the requirements of our time, a new historical age.

The universality of the revolutionary practice is determined by what a high level of consciousness and role it demands of the popular masses as the masters. The reason is that since the revolution and construction are carried out by the popular masses, if a revolution demands a higher level of consciousness and role of the masses as the masters, such a revolution will provide a practical foundation for clarifying the principles and ways of revolutionary struggle more comprehensively and profoundly.

For this reason, meeting the demands of the Korean revolution whose road ahead could be hewed out only by adhering firmly to the Juche stand was tantamount to meeting the demands of our age. This is why the Juche idea created to meet the demands of the Korean revolution at first has become the guiding idea of our age.

The founding of the Juche idea was indeed the brilliant solution of the historical task aspired by the times and the people.

Rare Gifts

A guiding idea which shows the way for the times cannot be propounded by everyone, although it is urgently demanded by life itself. Of course, every man comes to think of the problems presented by life and forms views on them. But this does not mean that every one advances a more or less systematic thought. Therefore, since olden times those who put forward this or that kind of thought have been called think distinguish them from others.

If not all can advance a systematic thought, correct or not, h less can they initiate a guiding idea to indicate the path ahead of and the people!

The revolutionary ideas which show the way for the ti the people are only originated by distinguished leaders of the

Marxism which awakened the working class to their historical mission and pointed to the road of struggle before them in the 1840's, was created by the first working-class leader Marx, and the leader of the Russian working-class Lenin provided the ideological and theoretical weapon to the workers to liberate themselves by overthrowing czarism and domination of capital.

The Juche idea, the guiding idea of the revolution and construction of our time when the once exploited and oppressed masses have become the masters of history and are hewing out their destiny independently and creatively, can only be associated with the name of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is a prominent thinker and theoretician of our time He has incomparably great gifts and qualities such as a warmest love for the people, extraordinary wisdom and insight to know the whole from a single bit of information, the thoroughly Juche-based stand to settle everything, if demanded by life, in a new light without sticking to any existing theories and experiences and masterly knowledge of everything

Stories about his unequalled gifts are innumerable It happened when he was attending the First Fusong Primary School in northeast China

One fine spring day, a school excursion was arranged He was strolling about in the forests inhaling the aroma of spring, when he halted and carved an inscription on the trunk of a big tree with his knife "Overthrow Japanese imperialism and achieve the independence of Korea " The schoolmaster who was passing by saw this and asked him how a young schoolboy could overthrow formidable Japanese imperialism. At this he answered that all Koreans hated the Japs, adding with emphasis.

"If we pool the people's strength, we are fully capable of knocking down Japanese imperialism."

At the unexpected answer, the schoolmaster and those teachers present who had regarded him as a little boy until then, were all deeply struck with admiration for his high patriotic spirit, firm faith and uncommon mental and spiritual traits.

Mr. Ma who had taught at the school at the time reminisced about the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung as a schoolboy:

"As days went by, we came to realize that, young as he was, Kim Song Ju (his childhood name) was not an ordinary boy.... He was not only clever and strong-willed but also a political activist with a lofty aim and a deep and wide mature knowledge. In fact, he already exceeded us teachers in understanding and analysing things."

Already in the early period of his revolutionary career, he was well-versed in the existing revolutionary thoughts and theories and applied them to the Korean revolution creatively. Moreover, he solved all problems strictly from the Juche stand without sticking to any existing theory or experience, if the revolutionary practice demanded it.

He possessed an outstanding insight and wisdom to see through the essence of matters in whatever complicated circumstances and look far ahead into the future with clairvoyance.

At the age of 14, he formed the "Down-with-Imperialism Union", a genuine revolutionary organization of a new type, and set forth the great original programme of the Korean revolution. This alone suffices to show what a great gift he has.

Therefore, though still in his teens, he was looked up by the people as the lodestar of the Korean revolution, and progressive-minded people who were wandering about in search of a correct road of revolution at home and abroad, rallied round him in large crowds.

The Morning Star appeared in Korea's night sky
And shines brightly over the land of three
thousand ri.
The day will dawn on the downtrodden Korea.
We 20 millions look up at the Morning Star.

This revolutionary paean composed by the people in those days in his adoration contained the ardent desire of the people for the beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung to be the lodestar of the Korean revolution, the morning star which disperses the darkness from the night sky and calls forth the dawn.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle the revolutionary fighters gave him the name of Kim Il Sung, which expressed the unanimous desire of the people to hail him who possessed incomparably great gifts as the great sun of Korean revolution.

Now, let me look back to the 1920's for a moment. In the vortex of the growing revolution a new historical era was approaching, but it was yet to take a definite shape Under such circumstances, nobody could tell the demands of the time and even sense the arrival of a new age. Everything in embryo is hard to define what it is. The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who had unexcelled gifts was the only person to see through the urgent demands of the new historical era which was emerging from the margin of the old time and solve the historical tasks advanced by the time.

The Juche idea, the undying idea, is indeed a brilliant fruit of the outstanding qualities of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

I cannot give a full, detailed account of the gifts Comrade Kim Il Sung possesses as a prominent thinker and theoretician. So, I would like to limit myself to the one point that his ardent love for the people constituted the spiritual basis for founding the Juche idea

I cannot tell when the word "love" came into being, but, since men are social beings who can only subsist by helping each other socially, this word must have come into being in remote antiquity One cannot imagine a human society where there is no love among people Therefore, from the old time, people wanted and valued genuine love

The long history of humanity knows beautiful stories of love, tens of thousands in number, such as love for the country and the people, love for comrades, love for parents, wives and children and so on. Distinguished writers and artists created works on the theme of love And how many monuments have been erected in praise of genuine love! But history has not recorded such a great love as that of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The words uttered by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung recalling the time when he crossed the Amnok River (which forms the

northern border of Korea) with the great aim of liberating the country touch every heart.

"I crossed the Amnok River when I was 13, firmly determined not to return before Korea became independent. Young as I was, I could not repress my sorrow as I sang the *Song of the Amnok River* written by someone and wondered when I would be able to tread this land again, when I would return to this land where I had grown up and where there were our forefathers' graves." (Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 1, p. 321.)

The half century spent in the glorious revolutionary struggle by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who shoulders the destiny of the country and the people is woven with his warm love for the people.

His is a great love which has provided tens of millions of people with human dignity and a new free and happy life. It is also a lofty love which has led oppressed and humiliated people to follow a glorious road of struggle, giving them an undying political life.

How many people have grown up to be revolutionaries and become heroes of the time under his warm care! How many people who deserted the people all their life have been given the honour and joy of resurrection in their last years in his benevolent embrace!

Apart from the unequalled lofty character and warm love for the people of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, one cannot think of the Juche idea, a scientific theory of human emancipation.

For 70-odd years of his life he has only been concerned about the fate of the people and about providing a happy future to them.

Indeed, the immortal Juche idea is a brilliant fruit of his great love for the people, an idea which has optimized the dignity and value of man, puts man in the centre of all thinking with everything placed in his service, and indicates a wide avenue for building a communist society where everyone enjoys a free and happy life by bringing up hundreds of millions of people into genuine masters of revolution.

The strength of genuine love is really great. The Juche idea which embodies the loftiest love for the people has brought up people of a new type in tens of thousands who have a warm heart to devote even their blooming youth, their only life unhesitatingly for the country and the

people, for the prosperity of mankind. History advances vigorously on the strength of people who live and fight on with their hearts warm with love for the people under the rays of the Juche idea.

Study of the Juche idea which embodies the loftiest love for the people should on no account be regarded as a mere pursuit of knowledge.

While acquiring a good grasp of the ideology and theory of Juche, we should learn the spirit of warm love for the people from this idea. Only then can we make this idea truly our faith and fight unyieldingly in any adversity sticking to our revolutionary principle and abiding by the dictates of our conscience.

A Great Discovery

It was aforesaid that the Juche idea was created as a reflection of the demands of our age and could be founded by the beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, an outstanding thinker and theoretician.

Now I would like to dwell on the historical process in which the Juche idea was created This is also an important question in understanding how it was founded

A Short History of the Korean Revolutionary Movement Abroad (Vol. I) published by the Tongbang Culture House in Seoul in 1945, the year of Korea's liberation, wrote.

"...Kim Il Sung (real name Kim Song Ju, born at Pyongyang) put his heart and soul into the children's movement as one of its leaders for more than a year in Jilin

"In the pure heart of Kim Il Sung who had just come to gain social consciousness, there was a wave of anguish....

"...Kim Il Sung's brain, nay, the consciousness of student Kim Song Ju... realized that he would be able to attain his end in the future through his independent development .. "

The beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung started his revolutionary career at a time when a new era of history was dawning and

devoted all his energies to opening up a new road for the people to follow.

A revolutionary thought representing the times will not be founded suddenly in a day but through a historical process.

The historical process in which the Juche idea was founded, covers the period from the time when the beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung embarked on the revolution to June, 1930.

In this period he discovered the truth of the Juche idea, that is, its starting point, while opening up a new road of revolution, and proclaimed to the whole world the founding of the Juche idea after verifying its correctness through the practical struggle.

The most important thing in the historical process of creation of the Juche idea is the discovery of the starting point of this idea.

A revolutionary guiding idea has this or that starting point. This starting point is a truth discovered when the guiding idea was formulated for the first time and the fundamental thought which runs through the guiding idea, determining its character and content. Therefore, the essential feature of a revolutionary thought distinguishing it from other revolutionary thoughts finds a vivid expression in its starting point, and the level and value of the thought are also determined by what constitutes its starting point.

What, then, are the starting points of the Juche idea?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"In the first years of his revolutionary struggle, the leader saw through the mistakes of the communists and nationalists who were allegedly engaged in the national-liberation movement in our country in the 1920's and took a road different from theirs, the genuinely revolutionary road which led him to be among the masses and to rely on them in the struggle. He elucidated the truth that the masters of the revolution are the masses of the people and that when one goes among them to educate and mobilize them one will be able to register victory in the revolution. This is one of the starting points of the Juche idea." (*On the Juche Idea*, Eng. ed., p. 5.)

He further said:

"Drawing on serious lessons derived from such flunkeyism and dogmatism, the leader clarified the truth that a revolution should be carried out not by anyone's approval or instruction but by one's own conviction and

on one's own responsibility and that all problems arising in the revolution should be solved in an independent and creative way. This is another starting point of the Juche idea." (*Ibid*, p. 7.)

In the course of searching for a new road of revolution, the beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung found out two causes why the Korean revolution had suffered bitter setbacks and gone through turns and twists before: one is that those who were engaged in the national-liberation movement gave no thought to going among the masses to educate, unite and arouse them to the revolutionary struggle, but, divorced from the masses, were only engrossed in the scramble for hegemony and empty talks, and that they did not unite the masses but divided them by factional strife, the other is that the nationalists and self-styled Marxists who followed the evil practices of flunkeyism and factional strife did not try to carry out the revolution on their own but dreamed of achieving independence by relying on foreign forces, and those who were allegedly engaged in the revolutionary movement formed their own faction each and knocked at the door of the Comintern to secure its recognition and endeavoured to copy from the established theories and experience of others in disregard of the specific realities of Korea

In the first years of his revolutionary struggle, the beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung saw through their mistakes and drew serious lessons from the consequences of flunkeyism and dogmatism.

Thus, proceeding from the practical needs of the Korean revolution and the thoroughly Juche-motivated stand, the great leader discovered two starting points of the Juche idea One is that the masters of revolution are the masses of the people and, only when one goes among them and educates and mobilizes them, can he secure victory in the revolution, and the other is that the revolution should be carried out not by anyone else's approval or instructions but by one's own conviction and on one's own responsibility and that all problems arising in the revolution should be settled in an independent and creative way

These starting points constitute the nucleus of the Juche idea and run through this idea. The essential feature of the Juche idea fundamentally different from the preceding ideas is also strikingly manifested in them.

With the starting points of the Juche idea discovered, the cornerstone was laid to found the Juche idea as the guiding idea of our times. The discovery of the starting points was a great event never known in the history of mankind.

History knows numerous valuable discoveries and inventions which contributed to the well-being of mankind. Those who made such discoveries and inventions were given unstinted praises and their exploits written in books and inscribed on monuments to be handed down to posterity. I think the readers know Columbus who discovered the New World in the 15th century. It is said that 15 cities of Italy vied with each other to have the honour of being nominated as his birthplace. And there are innumerable discoveries in history as important as that of the New World by Columbus. But there has never been a discovery as valuable as that of the truths which served as the starting points of the Juche idea.

Pointing out the world-historic significance of the origination of the Juche idea in his speech at the international seminar on the Juche idea held in 1977, Heeralall Bhugaloo, delegate of Mauritius, said: "Speaking of the change of the looks of the world, I think of the ancient Greek scholar Archimedes, who said that if he found a fulcrum and a lever, he could change the position of the globe in the universe. Finding neither of them, he left our planet at its place.

"However, in the world of thought, Comrade Kim Il Sung discovered a fulcrum, namely, the Juche idea, to change the looks of the world, particularly those of the underdeveloped or developing countries."

The fundamental idea which constitutes the starting points of the Juche idea serves as the motive force to change the world and advance history by bringing into full play the inexhaustible creative power of the popular masses. How can any of the scientific discoveries made to this day, no matter how significant it may be, stand comparison with this?

On the basis of the verified correctness of the said truths discovered by himself through stern revolutionary practice, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung finally propounded the principles of the Juche idea at the Meeting of Leading Personnel of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League held at Kalun in June 1930

and put forward the Juche line of the Korean revolution. This was a great historic event which announced the origination of the Juche idea and the birth of the Juche-oriented revolutionary line

With the creation of the Juche idea the people came to have the correct guiding idea to make them ever-victorious in the struggle for Chajusong and the Korean revolution which had undergone turns and twists came to advance along the glorious road of victory.

Great is the Juche idea which has built up new Korea, a country of free and happy people, in the East.

In his poem "Korea" (1929), Tagore, a progressive poet of India, wrote:

The golden age of Asia,
Korea was a country raising its lamps
Again the lamp will be lit
We're waiting for it
To illumine the East

Advent of a New Age

I have so far given the outline of how the Juche idea was founded. Therefore, I think it right to tell now what role the Juche idea has played in the onward movement of the time

As aforesaid, the immortal Juche idea emerged as a reflection of the demands of our era. However, this does not mean that the idea came into being after our era, a new age of history, was actually opened up before us

Since the times are a historical continuity, a new age bourgeons in the womb of the preceding time as a result of the latter's change and development. In this sense, a new age is the continuation and development of the preceding time Although the times have a historical continuity, the old time does not develop into a new age of its own accord. There can be no movement of times without some ideology as its harbinger. Just as all conducts of people are motivated by their ideological consciousness, the

movement of times is also actuated by the ideology representing the time concerned.

Now, let us see the reason.

That which pushes forward, changes and develops the time is the masses of the people who are the main agency of history and the motive force of social progress. And what makes the masses play such a role purposefully is the progressive ideas which reflect the demands of the time. Because such ideas awaken the people and show the path ahead of them. In the last analysis, the change of times which takes place entirely due to the role of the popular masses is possible only when there is a progressive idea reflecting the demands of the people. Herein lies the role played by the progressive ideas in historical progress.

Of course, this does not mean that all progressive ideas play the same role. The roles of progressive ideas vary according to how correctly they reflect the people's aspirations and demands. The more correctly a progressive thought reflects the people's aspirations and demands, the more forcefully it inspires them to a new historical movement. Thus, it will play that much greater role in the change and development of times.

Let me take a few examples. The ideas of liberty, equality and philanthropy appeared towards the end of the feudal age and encouraged the people to the struggle against the feudalistic exploitation and oppression. Because they had something to do with the aspirations of the people to free themselves from feudalistic exploitation and cruel social oppression. But these ideas advocated by the bourgeois thinkers did not represent the fundamental interests of the peasantry who occupied the overwhelming majority of the population. Therefore, although the slogan on liberty, equality and philanthropy played a progressive role to some extent in the bourgeois revolution, it was used as an ideological means to cover up the reactionary nature of the capitalist system after the bourgeoisie had taken power into their hands. Even now the imperialists are beautifying the predatory and contradictory society under their control with the deceptive slogan of "liberty" and "equality".

In the past periods the socio-historical movement of the popular masses was greatly stimulated by Marxism and Leninism. Marxism illuminated the historical mission of and the path of liberation for the

working class that appeared on the arena of struggle and stimulated their struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital, initiating the historical movement for achieving the highest ideal of mankind. Leninism developed Marxism to suit the new historical conditions and inspired the working class and the rest of the people to the struggle for destroying the imperialist strongholds and achieving freedom and liberation. This gave beginning to the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our age, the age of Chajusong when the popular masses have appeared on the scene as masters of the world and are hewing out their destiny independently and creatively, is associated with the Juche idea

Although they are the main agency of history and the motive force of social progress, the popular masses can neither fulfil their role as masters of history nor hew out their destiny independently and creatively by themselves To do so, they must acquire a high level of consciousness as the masters of history and their own destiny, and know the scientific ways of hewing out their destiny

When the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set out on the road of revolution, the revolutionary movement was making rapid progress on a worldwide scale. However, the popular masses not yet had a high level of consciousness as the masters of revolution and their destiny and did not know the correct ways of realizing their independent demands. Therefore, although the revolutionary movement was advancing rapidly, it was not a plain sailing. The labour movement which took place on a large scale in capitalist countries in the late 1910's and early 1920's was going through trials as the reactionary offensive of the imperialists was intensified with the temporary stabilization of capitalism, and the national-liberation movement in colonial, semi-colonial countries which had begun to mount anew, was also suffering one bitter setback after another. This meant that although a new age was budding in the womb of the preceding era as a necessary consequence of the protracted struggle of the people for Chajusong, it was not yet opened.

The Juche idea awakened the popular masses for the first time in history to the great truth that they are the masters of their own destiny and they have the power to hew it out and showed them the right way of carving out their destiny independently and creatively, thus arousing them

to the all-out struggle for Chajusong. This is how our age set sail and took the route of independence.

The birth of our age, a new era of history, has been made possible because the people's struggle against all forms of domination and subordination and for Chajusong was linked with the great Juche idea.

This is why today the people of the world call our age the age of Juche opened up by the Juche idea.

II. THE JUCHE IDEA ELUCIDATES A NEW PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLE

I have so far explained that the Juche idea was originated as a reflection of the demands of our era, a new era of history, and of the people's desire. Now let us study the ideological and theoretical contents of this idea.

The first question is about the philosophical principle of the Juche idea.

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea immediately represents the world outlook clarified by the Juche idea, and it constitutes the ideological, theoretical and methodological basis of this idea So, to acquire a deep understanding of this idea and, further, correctly grasp the revolutionary theory and leadership methods of Juche it is necessary, first of all, to have a good knowledge of this new philosophical principle.

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea consists roughly of the basic principle which is its cornerstone, the world view newly elucidated by this basic principle and the viewpoint and stand on the world

Now let us consider these problems one by one

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1. THE JUCHE IDEA IS BASED ON THE NEW PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLE

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"As the leader said, the Juche idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

That the Juche idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, means that the Juche idea is evolved according to this new principle and that this principle underlies all the principles and propositions elucidated by the idea.

Supposing the Juche idea is a big building, we can say that its philosophical principle is the foundation. A spacious foundation is essential for building a large house and a properly-placed foundation is needed to erect a well-balanced house. And a strong foundation is prerequisite for strong building.

The Juche idea owes its greatness, originality and scientific character to its philosophical principle. So, without knowing well the philosophical principle of the Juche idea, there is no understanding its greatness, originality and truth. Therefore, study of the Juche idea is started with its philosophical principle.

1) WHAT DOES THE JUCHE IDEA PUT FORWARD AS THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF PHILOSOPHY?

What Is Philosophy?

In order to explain what the Juche idea puts forward as the fundamental question of philosophy, it is necessary first of all to have a correct idea of what philosophy is

Some readers who have studied philosophy may reproach this as overkindness However, explanation of this question will not be quite meaningless because everything should be related in due order and, further, people differ from each other in their understanding of what philosophy is

Examining the views of philosophers on this question, we find some of them hardly distinguishable from each other But when we delve into the question as to what philosophy studies, that is, what the object of philosophical study is, we can easily find out there is a great difference in the philosophers' understanding of what philosophy is

In former days some philosophers said that philosophy studies problems relating to the essence, origin and development of nature and society outside man. This is an erroneous view, by which man, the most important factor, is excluded from the objects of philosophical study. And others held that philosophy investigates whether the world is cognizable or not, that is, the questions of cognitive powers and methods of cognition. However, only by studying such powers and methods, philosophy cannot give a view on the world and an answer to the question of man's destiny. So, this view, too, is not justifiable Yet others said that philosophy is aimed to study the question of human beings, that is, what man is and how

he should live. This view, too, cannot give a perfect understanding of the world, and so is not correct.

The Juche idea teaches that philosophy, in a word, is a science giving the world outlook which elucidates the problem of man's destiny.

What, then, is the outlook on the world?

Before going into this question, let's see the relations between our life and the world outlook. This will clear what the world outlook is.

Some people say that the world outlook only concerns scholars, politicians or artists, and none of their business. Such people have so far lived without knowing about the world outlook and think that they have nothing to do with it. This is evident.

Are they right in thinking so? Can there be anyone in the world who has nothing to do with the world outlook? Needless to say, there are no end of people without a systematic knowledge of philosophy or world outlook. This is inevitable because such a knowledge is rather abstruse, and so, generally, it is not taught in secondary education. Nevertheless, there can be no one in the world who has no connection with the world outlook. To possess a systematic knowledge of the world outlook is one thing, to have some connection with it quite another.

For instance, all people live breathing air. In other words, they are connected with air. But not all people know well what air is and how it works in human body. Because air is invisible, perhaps the people of olden times did not know even the existence of air. Nevertheless, one cannot maintain one's life even for a moment unless one breathes air. If anyone says he has nothing to do with air because he does not know what it is, people would think him a nut.

The same can be said of the world outlook. Whether one knows what the world outlook is or not, one cannot be unconnected with it, for he lives in nature and society, namely in the world. Everyone is always connected with nature and society. People build houses and make food and clothes by using various things of nature. This is proof

that man is connected with nature. And people conduct various social activities and work in conjunction. This shows that people live in social relationship.

Since people live connected like this with nature and society, they cannot but think of various things that take place in nature and society. In recent years abnormal weather has been lasting on the earth. It is often reported that houses have been washed away in a flood somewhere and crops have dried up and large herds of cattle have fallen dead due to a severe drought This abnormal climate threatens human life, too. So can there be one among the people on this globe who is more or less indifferent to the abnormal weather? Since man cannot live apart from nature and society, he can never be indifferent to what happens there. Thus, he takes this or that view on and attitude to the things that take place around him.

Then, is such a view and attitude immediately a man's outlook on the world? No, it is not.

His views on different things and phenomena of nature and society are linked and united by one ideology. We can see something in common in a man's view and judgment on things For example, a man who thinks mystically of the sun will think the same way about the moon and about some articles. Here lies the common view of taking a mystical approach to all things This shows that a man's view on an individual thing is related with some more general view on the world. In other words, people have a yardstick to view and judge concrete things and phenomena.

Of course, not all people know that their views on individual things are linked like this with their more general view concerning the world However, this does not matter in any case. Even if some people cannot read, to say nothing of understanding the word "world outlook", his concrete views on individual things and phenomena are connected with his view on the world as a whole. This general view on the world as a whole is precisely his world outlook

It will now be well to give the definition of world outlook.

The Juche idea teaches that the world outlook is an integral system of view, viewpoint and stand on man and the world surrounding him. To use

plain language, the world outlook is not knowledge about individual things and phenomena, but covers all questions as to what the world as a whole is, how it changes and develops and from what viewpoint and attitude one should approach the world in order to cognize and transform it.

This world view finds a concrete expression in how people view and approach things and happenings around him. Therefore, we can guess a man's world outlook if we closely observe his sayings and doings.

Suppose a sick man prays to a mystical "being" to cure his disease by laying the table before it, instead of seeing a doctor and using medicine, we can generally judge him to have a world outlook that everything in the world has been made by a mysterious "being" or, at least, to be under the influence of such a world outlook. On the contrary, if a man says that trying to heal disease by praying to a mysterious "being" is absurd and that in order to cure disease, one should go to hospital and actively receive medical care according to a correct diagnosis, we can see that on the whole he has a world outlook diametrically opposite to that of the former or is influenced by such a world outlook.

Why, then, do people who all inhabit the same world have different world views?

There is only one world in which we live. If there exists another world, it will be a "world" appearing in old stories or in fairy tales. Nevertheless, people have different world outlooks because their social positions are different.

In all cases people view and approach all things and phenomena with definite interests. Such interests vary with their social status. Therefore, they differ from each other in viewing one and the same thing and phenomenon. Slaves and slaveholders cannot be the same, and serfs and feudal lords cannot be identified. And in capitalist society the workers and the capitalists cannot be viewed on equal terms. Billionaires think capitalist society to be a paradise and wish it to last for ever. This is because in capitalist society money is almighty. However, the poor look upon capitalist society as an infernal place and, therefore, want it to be

upset. Because capitalist society is a hell for the poor. There is the high Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. The rich depict this bridge as the most beautiful one in the world. But those who are in an impasse of life call it "bridge of death". Hundreds of people in great straits of living threw themselves into the water from this bridge. So, they say signs of "No jumping down" are set up at several places of the bridge. Now, how can this bridge look beautiful for the people who have no means of livelihood? We could go on citing any number of similar examples.

Like this, people view things and phenomena in different lights according to their social positions. Of course, we can find people who are in the same social positions but have different world outlooks. For example, a worker may be found to have the same world outlook as that of exploiters. The reason is that he has been ideologically contaminated by exploiters or lacks in scientific knowledge about nature and society. Even a worker will not spontaneously come to acquire a world outlook representing the positions of the working people. Therefore, if one is to acquire a correct outlook on the world, one needs to make conscious efforts to that end.

We have so far seen that the world outlook is an integral system of view, viewpoint and stand with regard to the world, that a man, whoever he is, cannot be independent of the world outlook, and that they acquire different views on the world depending on their social circumstances. Now let me pass to the most fundamental question in this philosophical world outlook.

Endless Controversy

The fundamental question of philosophy is the question which must be solved before anything else for philosophy to fulfil its mission. So, all the contents and character of philosophy are decided by how the fundamental question of philosophy is solved. Therefore,

it can be said that the fundamental question of philosophy is the question which concerns the logic starting point of philosophy.

Philosophy has a long history. According to the literature so far available, some attempts, though in a simple form, were made in the ancient Oriental countries already in 2000 B.C. to form a unified view on the world. This shows that the philosophical thinking of mankind started thousands of years ago. In this long historical time many philosophical schools and philosophers appeared and aired all sorts of philosophical views.

What, then, did they regard as the basic question of philosophy and how did they try to solve it?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"In the past the relations between substance and consciousness, between being and thinking were regarded as the basic question of philosophy." (*Ibid.*, p. 73.)

There are multifarious things in our world. In philosophy this is called matter or material world. And people feel and perceive the things in the world through their sense organs, that is, eyes, nose, ears, tongue and skin. And by the data obtained through their sense and perception, they find out the qualities and usefulness of things and form this or that conception. Philosophy calls this consciousness or thinking phenomenon.

That the basic question in the old philosophies concerned the relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking, signifies that the starting point in establishing the world outlook lay in the question as to which is primary, matter or consciousness, and whether phenomena of consciousness are caused by material phenomena or vice versa.

The view that matter is primary and phenomena of consciousness derive from material phenomena is called materialism, and the contrary is called idealism. The views on the relations between matter and consciousness divided the past philosophies into materialistic philosophy which interprets the world materiali-

stically and idealistic philosophy which explains the world idealistically

The thousands of years long history of development of philosophy since the beginning of philosophical thinking of human beings is, we can say, a history of struggle between these two opposite philosophical world outlooks

This is not to say, of course, that all the former philosophers expounded their theories with the advance knowledge that the basic question of philosophy was that of relations between matter and consciousness Many philosophers did not know it and some denied it

When we say that the fundamental question of philosophy for the old philosophers lay in the relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking, we mean that such a conclusion is drawn from the review and analysis of their philosophical thoughts No matter what the subjective intentions of so many philosophers may have been and how they may have explained their philosophical views, the philosophies of the past including even those of the philosophers who argued that the basic question of philosophy was not the question of relations between matter and consciousness, advanced the relations between matter and consciousness as the fundamental question.

If so, why did the basic question of the old-time philosophies rest on the relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking? There was a sufficient reason for this.

As aforesaid, in order to carve out their destiny, the human beings who live in the world must know what the world is and how it changes and develops. The first problem in this connection is what the origin of the world is. The question if the origin of the world is material or otherwise should be cleared up so as to explain the question as to what the world is made up of and how it changes and develops It can be said that for this reason people came to pay their attention to the problem of the origin of the world before anything else.

One thing must be added for consideration in this context. It is that

the historical process of the birth and development of philosophy is partly responsible for the former philosophies to have regarded the relations between matter and consciousness as the basic question of philosophy. In remote antiquity unscientific illusions had a grip on the minds of people.

Primitive men did not know what were the causes of lightnings and thunders, and why the moon was round sometimes and crescent at other times. So, they thought that all phenomena around them were the doings of some supernatural "being". Even in the present days of civilization, there are many people who are not yet free from such mystical views about things and phenomena. So, it is quite excusable that tens of thousands of years or more ago people should have regarded the things which occurred around them in that light.

Through their long struggle for mastering nature and shaping their own destiny, the people found out secrets of nature one by one and got rid of their mystic illusions step by step. By generalizing, though crudely, the knowledge about the world accumulated in this course, they began to seek the origin of the world in material factors and, in the long run, created the simple ancient philosophy of materialism.

However, the reactionary exploiters who came into being when human society was divided into classes, detested interpreting the world in a scientific way, because it would prevent them from oppressing and ruling the masses of the people. Therefore, in order to make the masses their obedient slaves, they clung to the unscientific illusion that all things in the world had been created by some supernatural "being" and, gradually systematizing it in a specious manner, worked out the idealistic world outlook. Because philosophy was created in this way, it was inevitable that the basic question of philosophy should consist from the first in the question of relations between matter and consciousness.

The two philosophical views on the world—materialism and idealism—which had come into being in this way, engaged in endless controversy for thousands of years over the relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking, which they regarded as the

basic question of philosophy. This did not remain a mere academic controversy but was accompanied by acute class struggle This was because materialism represented on the whole the requirements of the class that was interested in social progress, but idealism, the interests of the reactionary exploiters In the Middle Ages when unscientific illusions prevailed, many people lost their lives for advocating the materiality of the world. This I think the readers know well.

Since this book is not intended for the study of the history of philosophy, I would not dwell on how the basic question of philosophy was disputed between materialism and idealism and how in this course the two philosophical schools changed and developed Only I would like to mention that the appearance of the Marxist materialistic dialectic philosophy in the 40's of the 19th century put an end to the struggle which had been carried on for thousands of years over the basic question of philosophy—the relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking

Of course, even now there is philosophy which holds that everything in the world was created by supernatural "power" or by man's consciousness, denying the primacy of matter and being However, it has been shattered by Marxist philosophy and represents the desperate last-ditch struggle of the ideologues of moribund imperialism So, it is not worthy of discussion. If everything in the world is made by supernatural "power", people would not have made even a primitive stone instrument, to say nothing of today's civilization. And if someone says to you, "You are a product of my consciousness. You do not exist really but exist because I think you exist," you will take him to a mental hospital at once

Let me say this much about what the philosophies of the past took up as their basic question and how it ended. My object here is to give some preliminary knowledge necessary for correctly understanding Juche philosophy.

A New Start

What, then, does the Juche idea take as the fundamental question of philosophy in elucidating all philosophical problems?

In philosophy the logical starting point makes its basic question, and so it is very important in understanding the new world outlook elucidated by the Juche idea.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Since the question of the world's origin had been made clear by the materialistic viewpoint, the Juche idea raised a new problem concerning the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy and gave an answer to the question of who is the master of the world." (*Ibid.*, p. 73.)

What does it mean that the Juche idea presented the basic question of philosophy with man as the main factor? It means that the Juche idea raised the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy.

The philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything is a scientific answer to the fundamental question of philosophy which takes man as the main factor. Herein lies the reason why the Juche idea is an entirely new world outlook which, taking man as the central factor, has given answers to all problems arising in philosophy.

History knows world views of different philosophical schools, but no man-centred world view. Needless to say, since philosophy was born of the requirements of human life, there can be no philosophy which has nothing to do with man. The history of philosophy shows that many philosophical schools had something to say about man, and, as aforesaid, there was philosophy of man among them which dealt only with the problem of human beings, human life. We should strictly discern here between the fact that different views were aired on man and that the position and role of

man in the world were raised as the fundamental question of philosophy. Bourgeois philosophies of man spoke so noisily about man, but all of them discussed the pure human problem without seeing the problem of man in context with the world. These philosophies of man, therefore, are not ones that give a world outlook. In a nutshell, the position and role of man in the world were raised for the first time by the Juche idea as the basic question of philosophy

How, then, did the Juche idea come to regard the question of man's position and role in the world as the basic question of philosophy?

It is because the Juche idea came into being as a reflection of the demands of our age, a new era of history.

A new age requires a new world outlook, and the development of times brings about the development of the world outlook As aforesaid, ours is a new historical era when the people's struggle for Chajusong is waged on the world arena in a far broader and more diversified way than in the former age.

The times have changed, and can the destiny of the popular masses be carved out with the world outlook of the past which reflected the demands of the bygone ages? Can we ever launch a man-made satellite while we are stuck in the mediaeval conception that the earth is not round like a ball but square? With such an outdated thinking, the discovery of the new continent a few centuries ago would have been impossible, let alone the launching of an earth satellite. The navigators of those days presumed that they could get to India by sailing westwards across the Atlantic (though in fact they reached the West Indies) just as they could go to India by sailing east round the Cape of Good Hope, because they had a view that the earth was not square but round In short, one cannot lead the revolutionary movement of the new age to victory with an outdated world outlook.

Times changed and hundreds of millions of people set sail in a large boat called the struggle for Chajusong If this boat was to take the right course to its port of destination, it needed a new guiding apparatus like a compass, namely, a world outlook which would enable the popular masses to hew out their own destiny in an independent and creative way with a high level of consciousness as its masters In order to establish such a

world outlook they needed first to solve the question of what the position and role of man in the world are. Only then could philosophical answers be given to the questions whether or not the masses of the people could shape their own destiny on their own and whether or not the people of each country could achieve their liberation by themselves and build a free, prosperous and new society, that is, the important questions of principle raised by the revolutionary practice of our era. This was precisely the circumstances of the time when the Juche idea took up the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy.

That the position and role of man in the world are made the fundamental question of philosophy conforms with the mission of philosophy.

Originally, the world outlook which is an integral system of view, viewpoint and stand on the world is needed to solve the problem of man's destiny and, accordingly, the mission of a world outlook is to give an answer to the problem of man's destiny. Men came to discuss the world outlook in order to carve out their destiny, and philosophy, an academic branch which studies the world outlook, was created.

To refer to the world outlook apart from the problem of human destiny is no more than an idle talk. Jonathan Swift, a British writer, satirized in his novel *Gulliver's Travels* that the scholars in the "Flying Island" were engaged in a useless and infeasible "research work" such as producing sheep without wool or making soft marble. Speaking about philosophy apart from the problem of man's destiny is as pointless as this "research work".

Generally speaking, all human activities are aimed at shaping the destiny of human beings. It is needless to say that human labour to master nature is designed to carve out the destiny of people.

The world outlook being a form of social consciousness, I will discuss similar forms of social consciousness. How did science, art and the like come into being and what is their use?

Essentially, they came into existence to carve out the destiny of men.

It is self-evident that we cannot speak of the significance of a

scientific invention aside from the problem of man's destiny. The same is the case with literature and arts.

What did Victor Hugo, a progressive romantic novelist of France in the 19th century, try to show in his novel *Les Miserables*? Jean Valjean, the hero, who was in prison for 19 years on charges of stealing a piece of bread for his hungry nephews and lived an outcast all his life although he helped people with such a warm heart. Besides, there is Fantine who sold her hair and even teeth for her daughter and, at last, became ruined before she starved to death at a corner of Paris, and Enjolras, a republican who was opposed to monarchism, and Gavroche, a waif. Through the portrayals of these characters the writer wanted to give an artistic answer to the problem of man's destiny. Therefore, he wrote in the preface of his novel, ".. as long as there exist ignorance and misery on earth, even a book of this kind will not be futile altogether."

Beethoven, German composer, explained his 5th symphony with the words, "Fate Thus Knocks at the Door". Does this not suggest that he combined his work of artistic creation with the problem of man's destiny?

Of course, although they failed to give a correct answer to the question of man's destiny due to the limitation of their world outlook, they attempted to do so at any rate

Allow me to repeat that there can be no human activity independent of the problem of man's destiny.

To avoid misunderstanding, I would like to add that when I say all human activities are associated with the problem of human destiny, I do not mean on any account that all human activities are useful for men. There are quite a few people in the world who do harm to humanity. However, it is true that even this harmful act is also linked with the problem of man's destiny.

The same can be said of the world outlook The world outlook which gives a view, viewpoint and stand on the world as a whole, rather than individual aspects of the world, has the mission of giving the most basic answer to the problem of man's destiny.

If the world outlook is to fulfil its mission, the position and role of

man in the world must be elucidated before anything else, because man as a part of the world is able to carve out his destiny only within the world.

Our world consists of man, nature and society. Of these, nature and society are the environment or the surrounding world in which people live.

For existence man establishes relations with nature and society at all places and times and his destiny is shaped in relation to them. Therefore, in order to answer the question of human destiny, we must first solve the question of what relations man has to the world, in other words, what his position and role in the world are. In yet other words, we must know whether man controls the surrounding world or vice versa, and whether man plays the decisive role in transforming the world or something else. Only then can we clarify whether man is able to carve out his destiny by himself or not and if he is, how he should think and act.

It can be said, after all, that the question of human destiny resolves itself into the question of the position and role of man in the world. This is the main reason why the Juche idea, which raised the question of man's position and role in the world as the basic question of philosophy and gave a clear answer to it, is the truly scientific philosophical idea.

What I have said so far poses a question.

If the basic mission of the world outlook is to answer the question of man's destiny, some people may wonder, why the philosophies of the past put forward the relations between matter and consciousness as the basic question of philosophy.

What is the reason that from the beginning the philosophical thinking of mankind failed to take up the question of the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy, although the fundamental mission of philosophy is to give an answer to the question of man's destiny? We should not forget that the question must be considered not only logically but also on the principle of historicism.

All ideologies of mankind including philosophical thoughts are originated and developed according to the knowledge and experiences of people obtained through their social practice to meet their practical requirements. Could people make a supersonic plane from the outset? I do not know who first attempted to fly into the sky like a bird. However, as it is known by now, the first mechanism which could be termed a plane was

made by Mozaiski in 1882, they say. As for this plane, it was little different from the model-planes made by middle school boys of today. In 1903, that is, 20 years later, the Wright brothers deviced a plane, whose speed was only 48 km an hour, and after 37 years, during the Second World War, the fastest fighter plane had a speed of far less than 1,000 km per hour. With the development of science jet planes with a speed of over 1,000 km an hour was made only in the 1950's, and today planes with such a high speed as 3,000 km an hour have been turned out.

The same is true of the development of human thinking. Human society has quite a long history But it is not an accident that the philosophical thinking of mankind started only when ancient society reached a definite stage of its development Could the people of remote antiquity when ignorance and darkness prevailed ever do highly abstract philosophical thinking? The same can be said of the time after the philosophical thinking of people started Take the history of development of materialistic philosophy for example It had gone through many stages of development before dialectical materialism appeared It was inevitable in those days that the question of relations between matter and consciousness remained the fundamental question of philosophy for thousands of years, although philosophy appeared for the purpose of giving an answer to the question of human destiny

As mentioned above, if man's destiny is to be carved out it was essential to elucidate what the origin of the world was before anything else.

I have already mentioned that the Juche idea put forward the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy because this was a pressing demand of the time and also because the question of relations between matter and consciousness, namely, the question of origin of the world, had been solved materialistically by the philosophies of the past.

Seen in this light, it is a natural outcome of the development of philosophical thinking of humanity that the position and role of man in the world have been newly presented by the Juche idea as the basic question of philosophy.

This is why the new man-centred philosophy propounded by the Juche idea is called the highest development of philosophy of mankind.

In a nutshell, the question of the position and role of man in the world is the basic question of philosophy of our time and a new starting point of philosophical thinking.

2) WHAT ARE THE POSITION AND ROLE OF MAN IN THE WORLD?

I have so far explained that the question of the position and role of man in the world was newly raised by the Juche idea as the basic question of philosophy.

How, then, has the Juche idea solved the basic question of philosophy? In other words, how does it view the position and role of man in the world?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The Juche idea raised the fundamental question of philosophy by regarding man as the main factor, and elucidated the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

The philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything explains the position and role of man in the world.

That man is the master of everything means that he holds the position of the master of the world and his own destiny, and that man decides everything means that he plays the decisive role in transforming the world and in shaping his destiny.

This is precisely the view of the Juche idea on the position and role of man in the world.

Now let me pass to this question.

Man Is the Master of Everything

In our daily life the word "master" is used in various meanings. The man who has some article or directs some kind of work is called master.

And slaves or servants call their lord master, and in some nations the wife calls her husband master. This word is also used as the antonym of guest. So, it has a wide range of meanings expressing various relations of social life, such as ownership, status, family relationship and so on.

But when the Juche idea points out that man is the master of everything, the word "master" is not one of these general terms.

The word "master" used in Juche philosophy is a philosophical concept which denotes man's position in the relations between man and the surrounding world. This is just as the term "matter" used as chemical or physical concept differs from that used as a philosophical concept.

Then, what is meant by saying that man is the master of everything?

This philosophical concept presented by the Juche idea for the first time bears the meaning that man is the master of the world and his own destiny.

The world surrounding man consists of nature and society. In the first place, man is the master of nature. In other words, in his relations with nature, man occupies the position of the master who dominates it

The natural world has various material beings. Some of them are living things and others, nonliving things.

Excepting nonliving things, the number of animals and plants is innumerable According to biologists, the number of plants discovered by now reaches some 500,000 and that of animals, about 1,500,000. When science develops further, more new living things will be discovered

Although the natural world has diversified material beings like this, none of them lives controlling the surrounding world. Even the lion that is the "king" of the forests and the shark that is the "boss" of the sea are not beings that live controlling the surrounding world Although the lion devours other animals, it is no more than a being that lives adapting itself to the given circumstances, it does not dominates the surrounding world.

It is only man who lives as the master of the world controlling it. Biologically, he is a part of nature and one of the living things. From a purely biological viewpoint, human beings are incomparably superior to animals, but they have some "inferior" aspects, too Some animals like the elephant are much stronger than men, the bird is several times faster, the

bat has a keener sense of hearing and the hawk has a much sharper eyesight. Such animals are innumerable.

Man, a special being different from animals, may be physically inferior to animals in running, hearing and seeing, but, instead, he makes planes, sound detectors and telescopes so as to fly at a supersonic speed, catch the sound which no animal can hear, and see a thing which is invisible to animals. Thus, man lives not in obedience to the blind force of nature but subordinating it to his will. Therefore, man is first the master of nature.

When we say that man is the master of everything, we should not take it that he is in full control of the boundless world. Many things in the world have not yet been mastered by man. According to astronomers' estimates, our galactic system alone has 150 billion stars and its diametre is 100,000 light-years. This vast universe still remains beyond the reach of man. Even on the earth, to say nothing of the universe, there are many things man has not yet conquered.

Whether man occupies the position of the master in the world or not is not the question of whether he completely dominates the world in reality or not but the question of whether he is a being that lives as the dominator of the surrounding world or in bondage to it.

That man is the master of everything means that he is not a being in bondage to the surrounding world but a being that lives in control of it as he pleases and is capable of dominating everything.

There are still numerous spheres and objects beyond the reach of human control in the world, but with the development of society and science, man will steadily extend the sphere of his domination. The sphere of nature dominated by each generation of mankind is limited, but it is unbounded when viewed from the standpoint of human history as a whole.

In the history museum we can see relief models, pictures and instruments which show how the primitive men, our ancestors, lived. They show that the extent to which the primitive men controlled nature was really negligible. At best, they made a fire in their cave to keep out the cold, hunted wild animals or picked wild fruit with crude stone instruments or sticks. Compared with this, today's extent of human control over nature is

really amazing. At present people can keep off the cold or heat as they like. Not only that, they build good houses furnished with all facilities necessary for their life This is an indication that man dominates nature.

True, even now, many people in some countries are living under a bridge for they have not even a board house. But this is not because man is unable to dominate nature, but because of the contradictory social system under which man exploits man

People build dikes and control rivers to prevent floods and drought, and generate electricity by using water power. This, too, proves that man dominates nature. Such instances are countless. In the former days people who did not know the secrets of the universe said, "Only observe and do not touch" in regard to heavenly bodies. However, people have now started on the mastery of the universe As a result, they have already left their footmarks on the moon All these facts clearly show that man is the master who dominates the world

The same can be said of society

Man is the master not only of nature but also of society That man is the master of society means that he dominates society

Unlike nature, society came into being with the appearance of human beings in the world Without man society is inconceivable All the material and cultural wealth in our society are created and used by people. Social relations are also a product of men and dominated by them

As in the past, so even in the present days, some ideologues of the reactionary rulers tell all sorts of lies, saying that society was created by a certain mysterious "being" or that human society was originally so made as it is now, their aim being to maintain for ever the social system favourable for the exploiters But the days are gone when such lies passed current. Anyone who has the least faculty of reasonable thinking will not believe such lies Let me leave off here because I shall have an opportunity to give a little more detailed account of the subject that man is the master of society.

But I would like to mention one or two points here to prevent misunderstanding

In the first place, one should not take the remark that man is the master of society for meaning that the masses of the people are real

masters in any society. In exploiter society the masses of the people create all material and cultural wealth, but cannot appropriate it to themselves and are subjected to exploitation and oppression. Therefore, in such a society the popular masses cannot be the true masters of society.

When the philosophical principle of the Juche idea says that man is the master of society, it concerns the question as to which is in the dominant position, man or social environment, in their mutual relations but it does not concern the question whether the masses are really the masters of society or not, in other words, whom each social system serves, the exploiters or the masses.

The former is the question pertaining to the position of man in the relations between society and man, and the latter is the question of the character of social system. These two differ in their nature. They should not be confounded.

Another question is that the remark that society is a human creation should not be construed as meaning that there is no objective law in society and that people can choose this or that social system as they like.

In society there are inexorable objective laws independent of the will of man. Hence social science. When we say that society is a human creation, we mean that viewed from the standpoint of the relation between man and society, the latter is the community of people, the social beings, and the former is the direct agency of social relations.

In a word, man is the master of nature and society, namely, the world as a whole. This is the absolutely correct explanation of the position of man in the world.

Man Decides Everything

While the proposition that man is the master of everything elucidates the position of man in the world, the proposition that man decides everything explains the role of man in the change and development of the world.

Then, what does this mean?

It means, in brief, that man plays the decisive role in transforming the world and in shaping his own destiny.

There are many factors in the change and development of things and phenomena. But the roles of these factors are not the same. Some play the decisive part and others, not.

Let us take plants for example. Their growth and fruition require sunshine, air, water and nutrients. But the decisive role in the growth of plants is played by metabolism, their intrinsic function. Through this function, plants take water and nutritive substances and turn carbon dioxide absorbed from air into organic substances through photosynthesis Sunlight and heat are indispensable for the growth of plants. But, however important they may be, they cannot take the place of the function of metabolism intrinsic to plants themselves.

The same can be said of the transformation and development of the world. To remake nature, there should be material and technical means. If *tideland is to be reclaimed there must be excavators, cranes, steel and* cement. Even the primitive men needed instruments, though crude, for hunting wild animals and picking fruits Much more, we cannot carry on huge nature-remaking projects to dam off the sea and reclaim land only by bare hands This shows that material and technical means are indispensable for transforming nature. Thus, the material and technical means play an important role in remaking nature However, it is man that plays the decisive role in nature-remaking

However important the role of material and technical means may be, it is incomparable with the decisive role of man.

Why is it so? Any good machine cannot work without man A gun in the hands of a dead man is no better than a stick. It is man that makes and uses machinery. Without man machinery cannot be created or used.

With the development of science and technology remote-controlled machines and robots have appeared to do much work in the place of people. Seeing this, some people are now speaking out openly about "human crisis", thinking as if people have been pushed out of the way by these up-to-date technical means and become impotent. Just because a few robots have taken the place of thousands of people in work, can we say

that human beings have become impotent? I wonder such people fear that robots made by men might declare war against them.

As a matter of fact, remote-controlled automatic machines and robots show the inexhaustible creativity of men and their decisive role in transforming the world, and are tangible proof that with the development of society and machine civilization the role of man in the remodelling of the world is growing.

The "theory on human crisis" is a sophistry which reflects the mood of moribund imperialists who have already lived their days and also is a venom to poison the people with pessimism, disappointment and mentality of nonresistance so as to paralyze their struggle against the exploiter system. At present, in the Western capitalist countries machine civilization brings various misfortunes to the people not because of the development of machinery but because of the evil social system which makes men slaves of machinery.

In short, although robots assemble cars, fetch books from the stack rooms of libraries and perform other kinds of work, they are a human creature and work on the orders of men. In other words, they are simply the extention of human brains and hands, and are no more than a mass of scrap iron apart from man: they are little different from the stone instruments and sticks that were used by primitive men. So, there is no need at all to fear lest the improvement of machinery should make you fool or a slave of machine. Therefore, the social system that makes people accessory to machines invented by themselves should be revamped.

To conclude, however many sophisticated machines which can do work in the place of people may be mobilized, it is man that plays the decisive role in remaking nature.

Man performs the decisive role in transforming society as well.

Originally, society was born of the demand of man to live as human. Since man is the direct agency in social relations, social laws are laws of his activity.

Social laws are conditioned by man's requirements and realized by his activity. That imperialism will go under and the socialist system will be established is an inexorable law. This law will be put into effect by the people's demand and struggle for socialism.

True, objective conditions have an important role to play in transforming society, but man is always the decisive factor here.

After all, the decisive role in remodelling nature and society, that is, the world as a whole, belongs to man.

One thing must be made clear in this connection. It is that when we say man decides everything, this should not be taken for meaning that man brings about the movement and change of everything in this world.

All things move and change by their own causes according to definite laws depending on their specific characters

As the readers know, the earth rotates on its axis once in 24 hours and goes round the sun once in a year In the temperate regions like our country, the change of four seasons is distinct every year. There is nothing in the world that does not move and change Even rocks which stand majestically on the mountain ceaselessly change Only, their change is so slow that it is invisible to men. And such motion and change of things are entirely independent of human agency They had moved and changed like that even before the appearance of human beings on the earth

When people transform things to meet their needs, this, in fact, presupposes the laws of motion of things themselves.

If one tries to transform things in disregard of these laws, he is sure to fail Once upon a time a noble man, hearing that the more manure is applied, the more water melons grow, sowed a few seeds of water melon and applied manure every day, until at last the seeds rotted even before sprouting. This is a funny story Of course, it satirizes the inability of the noble who do not work and lead an idle life, and it shows that without knowing the law of growth of plants, one cannot cultivate even water melons properly.

In fact, without knowing the law of action and reaction, the third law of Newton, we cannot launch rockets, and without the knowledge of the law of conservation and transformation of energy, we cannot generate electricity by using water power Because men are capable of finding out and making use of such laws of nature, they can play the decisive role in remodelling the world.

Although human beings understand and use the laws of the objective world, they cannot really regulate and control the motions of all things in

the world. There are still innumerable motions of things beyond human control. They are still unable to regulate and control earthquake or climatic phenomena, not to speak of the motion of heavenly bodies. Of course, people can foretell an earthquake and take necessary measures, but are not yet capable of removing it.

The decisive role of man in the world does not mean that all things move and change through human agency but that man plays the greater role in transforming the world than any other factors.

As for the scope of human control, the motions of more and more things will come under it as man's power grows in the future. People had suffered greatly from lightning until more than 200 years ago because they did not know its cause. Today, however, they have found it out and control the blind force of lightning by means of lightning rods.

The history of development of science and technology shows that with the development of society, the speed of progress of science and technology increases further. At the present time the bow is only used at athletic contests, but hundreds of thousands of years had passed before it was invented in human society. As contrasted with it, how quickly science and technology have developed for two and a half centuries after the Industrial Revolution! Therefore, we need not fear, as some people do, lest food should become scarce and living space narrower if the population continues to increase. Instead, we should struggle to do away with the social fetters which hamper the development of science and technology and the role of man in transforming the world.

To conclude this section, man's position as the master of everything is inseparably connected with his role that he decides everything.

Because man is the master of the world, he plays the decisive role in remaking and changing it and vice versa.

Since the position and the role of man in the world are closely linked with each other like this, they always materialize in a unified manner in the relations between man and the world.

Needless to say, this does not mean that man, who plays the decisive role in social progress, is the master in all societies. Even in exploiter society, the masses of the people play the decisive role in social progress, but they do not hold the position of the master of

that society This is because in exploiter society the masses of the people are exploited and oppressed.

The question of the position and role of man in the world and the question of the position and role of the popular masses under each social system are different from each other. I will dwell on this problem in greater detail in due course

Man Is the Master of His Own Destiny

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea that man is the master of everything and decides everything means that man is the master of the world and plays the decisive role in remaking it and that he is responsible for his own destiny and he has also the capacity for hewing it out.

As aforesaid, the basic mission of philosophy is to give an answer to the question of human destiny Therefore, philosophy, from its basic question in particular, should give an answer directly to the problem of the destiny of man. But the former philosophies could not give a direct answer to the question of man's destiny because they did not raise their basic question with man as the central factor

True, the former philosophies, too, advanced various views on the question of human destiny because philosophy came into being from the first in connection with that question. However, since they failed to raise the question of the destiny of man directly from the starting point, they inevitably were unable to permeate their whole system with this question and could not give a correct answer to it, either. So in the philosophies of the past this question was ignored altogether or discussed only fragmentarily.

Then, how did the former philosophies view the question of the destiny of man?

To know this is essential for understanding the new conception of the Juche idea on the question of man's destiny.

People often say, "fate of the individual", "fate of the nation", and "fate of the country". And they also use the words "fate of war" and "fate of revolution", and sometimes employ the word "fate" in reference to

the world. There are still innumerable motions of things beyond human control. They are still unable to regulate and control earthquake or climatic phenomena, not to speak of the motion of heavenly bodies. Of course, people can foretell an earthquake and take necessary measures, but are not yet capable of removing it.

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things like "fate of the house". Such words belong to the ordinary vocabulary of people, and as they are not wrong in themselves, they give an impression at first glance that people differ little in the understanding of fate. But a close scrutiny of each case in which those terms are used reveals that people differ in their understanding of human destiny.

Where, then, does the difference come from?

Beyond any doubt it comes from the difference in their views on the world.

In the past some people said that the destiny of men was decided by some mysterious "being" or supernatural "power" and so men should obediently accept the "fate" fixed by this "being" or "power". According to their view, everything one has to go through from birth to death and sufferings of people who starve and are in rags, despised and humiliated in exploiter society, are all ordained by their lot.

This view on the destiny of men appeared already among the people of remote ages who were quite helpless before the blind force of nature, and became widespread after the advent of exploiter society when the social yoke was added to the fetters of nature, which was further aggravated by the unscientific illusions spread by the reactionary rulers to dominate the people.

The reactionary rulers said that the mysterious "being" had a book which recorded the "destiny" of every man, and that people lived according to it. Some others said that the "destiny" of people was ordained beforehand in their "previous existence". There is no need to explain lengthily that such views on destiny were aimed at pacifying the people's spirit of insubordination in exploiter society by inducing them to resign themselves to their lot, however hard, believing it to be the inevitable and beyond the control of human power.

Some idealistic world outlook says that man's destiny is accidental. According to this view, everything that takes place in human life is by mere chance. Once a historian said that the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo was due to the cramp in the stomach which he accidentally had during the campaign and which prevented him from commanding his army.

This is an erroneous view which amounts, after all, to saying that the fate of a man is decided by a chance factor. According to this sort of

people, it is an accident that in imperialist countries mining workers die from a cave-in and people perish of an infectious disease.

Although they do not say that the fate of a man is predetermined by a mysterious "being", their view has no difference from the latter in that human beings cannot hew out their destiny in accordance with their will.

On the other hand, some people hold that there is no accident in the life of a man and everything is inevitable. According to them, everything people go through is inevitable and cannot be otherwise.

This view also leads to the conclusion that people cannot carve out their destiny by themselves

The views I have so far mentioned have one common point, that is, fatalism

With the development of science and activities of people to hew out their destiny, they gradually came to disbelieve such views. Thus, some people assert that there is no such thing as destiny

This comes from confounding the two words "destiny" and "fate", which caused them to say like that in the sense that there is no predetermined fate for a man.

The idea that there is no predetermined fate for a man is a step forward in the interpretation of the question of fate However, even this view failed to give a correct philosophical answer to the question who is the master of human destiny and who has the capacity of shaping it.

This question could not be given a correct answer by philosophies which did not regard the question of human destiny as the cornerstone of its basic question This is quite understandable

Raising the problem of man's destiny in the basic question of philosophy and from its starting point in keeping with its main mission, the Juche idea gave an absolutely correct answer to it. Herein lies the reason why the philosophical world outlook elucidated by the Juche idea has given a perfect and logical answer to all problems arising in hewing out man's destiny.

How, then, did the philosophical principle of the Juche idea expound the question of man's destiny?

We are the masters of our own destiny.

We will liberate the country by ourselves.
Defeating Japanese imperialism under this banner,
Let us build a new society on the land of 3,000 ri.

This is a paragraph of the song on the Down-with-Imperialism Union founded by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in 1926.

The Union, which provided the historic roots for the Workers' Party of Korea today, was a revolutionary organization of a new type that held high the banner of great Juche which implies that one is the master of one's own destiny for the first time in the world.

Indeed, the founding of the Union was a historic event proclaiming to the whole world that the popular masses emerged on the scene as the masters of their own destiny.

The principle that answered the basic question of philosophy, that is, the new principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, gives a scientific elucidation of the problem of human destiny.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"That man is the master of everything means that he is the master of the world and of his own destiny; that man decides everything means that he plays the decisive role in transforming the world and in shaping his destiny." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

Viewed from the standpoint of human destiny, the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything means that he is the master of his own destiny and has the capacity of hewing it out.

Being the master of everything, man is the master of his own destiny before anything else.

Nothing in the world but man himself is responsible for his destiny and decides it. There is no mysterious "being" or supernatural "power" in reality, so it cannot be the master of man's destiny. As for such "being" and "power", they are all figments of human imagination and have now been negated by man. So it will be proper to say that man himself is the master who decides their destiny. The things which really exist in the world, too, cannot hold sway over the destiny of man, for all of them are dominated and transformed by man.

Man alone is the master of his own destiny. He does not entrust his destiny to anything and has no quarters to do so, either. Holding his destiny in his own hands, man is steadily improving his situation and forging ahead continuously along the road of development.

Man also has the capacity of carving out his destiny. The mysterious "being" or supernatural "power" does not give even a piece of bread to men Once upon a time there lived a man who believed in the mysterious "being". He thought the meteorite falling from the sky was an "elixir of life" given by that "being" and ate it, only to die. This is not merely an old tale.

There is no "being" in the world which will hew out man's destiny for him. Man can shape his destiny only by his own efforts and is capable of it, too Conquering nature by his creative labour and reshaping society by his unremitting revolutionary struggle, man has shaped and is shaping his destiny.

The long history of mankind has indeed been a solemn process of march of man to carve out his own destiny by himself as its master.

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea that man is the master of everything and decides everything gives a scientific answer in this way to the question of man's destiny

I would like to make one more remark about the position and role of man in the world

Certain people tend to think that some previous philosophies, too, referred to the question of position and role of man in the world.

None of the philosophies of the past raised this question and clarified it. But sometimes human thinking and action bring about an unexpected result. In the bygone days no one ever presented the problem of position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy and, accordingly, gave an answer to it, but since philosophy could not ignore the question of man, some people made remarks unwittingly which revealed their varied views (though fragmentary) on the position and role of man

They can be summarized in two categories. One is that man is subordinated to the surrounding world, which he cannot remake. For instance, the people who thought that everything in the world had been made by the mysterious "being", believed that this "being" was the master

of the world and decided everything according to its will. They considered that man was a servant of the mysterious "being" and could only live by its grace.. Whenever a misfortune happens, they invoke the mysterious "being" and say the prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon your sinful son!" The wording itself shows that a mysterious "being" is the master of the world.

Some others think that there exists an "absolute spirit" which has created the world and the latter moves according to the principle laid down by it. As far as their view on the position and role of man in the world is concerned, they are essentially identical with those who believe in the mysterious "being". Their difference, if any, lies in the terms mysterious "being" and "absolute spirit". In the latter case, the "absolute spirit" is the master, and everything in the world including man is determined according to the principle laid down by this spirit.

On the other hand, there are people who regard human beings as little different from animals. They think that men, like animals, are subject to the surrounding world and adapt themselves to the environment.

Yet another erroneous view on the position and role of man is that everything in the world is "created" by man, and everything is decided by his subjective will. Moreover, some philosophers deny even the stark fact that things exist objectively besides man in the world and hold that things exist because men think they exist.

There is "voluntarism", a reactionary philosophical school, whose proponents say that everything in the world exists, changes and develops not according to the objective laws, but moves this or that way according to the subjective will of an individual. Possibly, this view may appear to have enhanced the position of man tremendously. But this is utterly unscientific.

If everything in the world is decided not by any laws but by human volition, what is the need of science which studies the laws of the objective world. Then, if people just wish a rich harvest without knowing the laws of growth of crops and cultivating them well, can they reap it? Such are reactionary views which, far from serving the purpose of enhancing the position and role of man, helped the reactionary rulers exploit and oppress the masses of the people at will.

True, some philosophies of the past gave a scientific elucidation of the

laws of change and development of the world and, on this basis, held that man could understand and transform the world. But even they failed to go as far as the point that man is the master of the world and plays the decisive role in transforming it.

The Juche idea put forward for the first time the question of position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy and gave a scientific answer to it

The philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything represents the pinnacle of the philosophical thinking of mankind With the discovery of this principle, philosophy was enabled to raise man's position to the highest place in the world and show the correct way of hewing out the destiny of man

3) WHAT IS MAN?

We have so far studied that the Juche idea has given a scientific answer to the question of the position and role of man in the world by putting forward this question as the fundamental question of philosophy and expounding that man is the master of the world and plays the decisive role in remaking the world

How is it that man is the master of the world and plays the decisive role in remaking the world?

If this question is to be clarified, it is necessary to know what man is. This is just as good as we must first know what teacher is in order to know what his position and role at school are.

The position and role of all things are inconceivable apart from their real nature The peace-loving policy of socialist countries stems from the essence of the socialist system, while the aggressive policy of imperialism derives from its predatory nature.

The position and role of man, too, are connected with his essential characteristics

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea which has explained the

position and role of man in the world, is based on a new conception of man.

What, then, does the Juche idea consider man is?

It Was Long before Man Came to Know Himself

When I say man has so far lived without knowing himself, some people may doubt it. Since ours is an epoch when man has embarked on the mastery of the universe going beyond the bounds of the earth, they may tilt their heads dubiously as if questioning what I mean when I say man does not know himself. But can it be helped when it is true from the philosophical, if not biological, viewpoint?

It is not infrequent that people find themselves baffled when asked about a very simple matter which they encounter in their everyday life and so regard it as a thing of common knowledge. The same can be said of what man is.

What is man? Of course, this question is not asked for the first time today. To get a philosophical answer to it, people have racked their brains for a long time.

Although the philosophies of the past did not raise the question of position and role of man in the world as their basic question, they sought more or less to find an answer to the question of man's destiny. Therefore, they could not be indifferent altogether to the question of what man is. So, philosophers, theologians, writers and artists of all ages and countries taxed their energies to solve this question.

Not only thinkers but also ordinary people are interested in the question of what man is. We often see even poorly-educated people talk about this question. In capitalist society people who are hunger-stricken for lack of a piece of bread say, "What on earth is man? When even a dog has something to eat, is it proper for a man to live like this?" And speaking of a scoundrel who kills his parents for property, they say, "Even a beast recognizes its mother, and how can a man murder his parents?"

Like this, people often think of various occurrences in life in the context of the question what man is.

This shows that the question of man is a problem of common concern the solution of which people are awaiting to live decently as human beings The solution of this question was, in fact, a historical task of mankind for providing an answer to the question of man's destiny.

However, this question remained unsettled although it had been discussed for thousands of years since the birth of philosophy.

Now let me review briefly how people approached this question in the past. This will help understand the originality and excellence of the new conception of man expounded by the Juche idea.

Since tens of thousands of people discussed what man is from different standpoints, their views on it vary greatly. But I cannot mention all of them and there is no need to do so, either. So let me touch only on some of them

The ancient people who thought that everything in the world belonged to nature (which had a different connotation from what is termed in modern science), had the same opinion about man. They regarded both the state and society as part of nature, and even considered "God" a being inseparable from nature. They used to combine "God" with anything, as is to be seen in their "mountain god" and "sea god". This could be ascribed to the aforesaid method of thinking

The ancient people who failed to distinguish between nature and things, considering all things in the world to be part of nature, even regarded human beings as part of nature They could not think of human beings separate from nature. In a word, they did not see the conceptual difference among nature, society and man as today. It is self-evident that those people who could not distinguish man from nature were unable to explain what man is.

Then, how did the unscientific world outlook which prevailed in the mediaeval ages consider man?

Of course, practices of believing in illusory beings came into being first in the primitive ages, not in mediaeval ages. But it was in the mediaeval ages that under the support of state power unscientific illusory world outlooks became predominant and swayed people. It can be said that the mediaeval ages were a period when unscientific illusions had a grip

on the people's minds, though there was a difference between the East and the West and between countries.

In viewing man the believers in fantastical beings had a common point and it was that they started from the belief that man was created by a certain mysterious "being". For example, it was written in the "sacred" Bible that Jehovah made Adam, the first man, with clay, and then took from him a rib while he was asleep and turned this into Eve, his wife. To make people accept this as a fact, theologians fixed the date for it: the Pope Gregory VIII said that "God" created man in 5199 B.C., and an English theologian did so much as specify the hour—exactly 10 a.m., October 23, 4004 B.C.

Needless to say, the myth of divine creation of the first man is not limited to Christianity. Similar legends existed in ancient Egypt and Greece far before the appearance of Christianity. According to scholars, the Biblical myth is an adaptation of an ancient Babylonian legend by the Jews. This fact was proved by archaeologists long ago. Writings on a tile plate unearthed when the site of an ancient Babylonian palace was excavated, say that "God" created the world in six days and the first man was made with clay.

By explaining the origin of man like this, no matter how it came about, Christianity turned man into a being that lives according to the will of "God" and cannot do anything as he likes. Thus, it was said that man is an intermediate being between "God" and animals, and his worth depends on his distance from "God", that is, on how deeply he believes in "God".

It goes without saying that this doctrine represented the will of the contemporary rulers. This is proved by the fact that the Bible compiled in Israel adopted a great deal from the code made by the slaveholders of the time to maintain and consolidate the slave system.

By the way I would like to say a word more about Christianity. Today Christianity has changed a great deal. Some theologians of Western Europe say, "We know that there is no 'God'. But if man is to live, he must have something for mental support. 'God' is the mental pillar of man." They call theirs a "rational religion". They seem to believe that they could justify their unscientific fantasy by representing "God" as a "mental

support" instead of as a being existing in reality. But in any case, all come to the same thing The essence of Christianity does not change simply because "God" has turned into a "mental support". In this case, too, man remains helpless and cannot live without depending on something, a being unable to carve out his destiny by himself.

Let us return to the mediaeval ages.

Of course, even at that time attempts were made to scientifically explain how man came into being. Some Oriental philosophers said that the origin of the world is "energy", which gave birth to everything in the world including man Others considered the origin of the world to be water or fire, from which, they said, man came. But because science was at a low level of development and unscientific fantasies prevailed in the mediaeval ages, their attempts to give a scientific elucidation to the origin of man could not succeed

It was Lamarck of France who scientifically explained the origin of man for the first time. He authored the *Zoological Philosophy* in 1809, in which he wrote that the higher animal was evolved from the lower animal, and men, from anthropoid But he failed to substantiate his theory with scientific materials. Taking advantage of this, reactionary scholars obssessed by unscientific fantasies took exception to his theory Only his faithful daughter said to him in consolation, "Father, the coming generation will praise you and will satisfy your desire " In 1909, 100 years after the publication of the *Zoological Philosophy*, gravestone engraved with these words was set up by his disciples at Paris

It was Charles Darwin who revived Lamarck's theory and advanced the scientific theory of evolution with the materials he collected during his world voyage; he proved scientifically that anthropoid evolved into men. The evolution of anthropoid into men has been irrefutably substantiated today by archaeology, geology and biology with scientific materials.

Of course, the answer to the question of the origin of man is not an answer to what man is. But it offers a condition for discarding unscientific views on man and correctly elucidating it.

With the development of society and science in modern times, some attempts were made to find an answer to what man is in man himself free

from unscientific illusions. For example, some people said that man is a being with reason and others, a sensitive being.

Of course, a man has both reason and sensitivity. But although these constitute this or that aspect of human nature, they are not his essential characteristics.

It is wrong to think that a man only has reason or sensitivity. Reason is a mental function of man to think abstractly according to the materials obtained through his sense and perception of things, and sensitivity is his another mental function to perceive and sense things through his sense organs. Can we think of people who have only reason separate from sensitivity? In the last analysis, this is an unscientific view considering man as some "Mental substance".

Just as we cannot think of a man only with reason, so not a man only with sensitivity. If a man only has sensitivity, he will be able to acquire an idea of a thing by sensing and perceiving it, but will be incapable of abstract thinking, so that he will be unable to know the essential qualities of things. This will make men little different from animals. If man is a being only with sensitivity, how can we explain the activities of human beings who have recognized and transformed the world? Therefore, this view is also unscientific.

Some people said that man is a natural being, a biological being, because he is a product of nature. This view places men on a level with animals. This, too, is an erroneous view which cannot explain correctly the human activities of recognition and transformation.

Some other people thought that the human being is essentially a "labouring being", a "thinking being", an "articulate being", and so on. When seen from the angle of the functions of men, these views contain a piece of truth each. The functions of labour, thinking and speech are intrinsic only to men. The world does not yet know other beings with such functions. Therefore, they are undoubtedly characteristic of human beings.

However, upon deep reflection we come to ask: why do people work and think and speak? Is it in itself the end of life? If so, irrespective of their result, all that is needed for them is to work constantly or think endlessly

sitting at home. And possessing a language will mean the attainment of their end. But this cannot be so

Labour, thinking, speech and the like are means for gaining the end and the end is to live a life worthy of man. Therefore, such views only give an answer to the question of how people act and live, but not what man is. So, the view that man is a "labouring being" or a "thinking being" or an "articulate being" cannot explain the position and role of man as the master of the world

The imperialists and scholars patronized by them insulted man by saying that the human being is an "isolated being", a "being on the way to death" and so on. Their "view" is not worthy of serious consideration and so let us drop it

In a word, man has so far lived without knowing well what he himself is.

Here a question may arise: how could the human being, without knowing what he himself is, develop as today and create so colossal material and cultural wealth? To this you can ask back. do you always have a full knowledge of the principles of what you are doing? Now another question arises: if man can live and develop without knowing what he is, why must we know what man is? To this we can answer. although man can live without knowing what he himself is, he cannot purposefully lead a life worthy of man

A person walking without knowing his way may get lost or sometimes fall over precipices. Just imagine what a long detour humanity has made in their historical progress and how slowly history has moved forward because they did not know that they themselves are. Thousands of years of human history provide us with no end of facts to prove it.

Human history can be regarded as a history of steady rise in the position and role of man, and the higher the position and role of man rose, the more rapidly history advanced. What does this show us? It shows that as man's awareness of oneself increased, the forward movement of history quickened. Is it not true that the rate of historical progress increased with the march of time from the grey past to the Middle Ages, then to the modern times and farther down to the present time?

In order to live in a way befitting man, develop and push forward

history at full speed, man must be clearly aware of himself. Therefore, the question of what man is had to be solved, which was a historical task of mankind, and was a burning question posed by the philosophical thinking of mankind.

Man Is a Social Being with Chajusong, Creativity and Consciousness

The question as to what man is was put forward and clarified in the light of social relationship by Marxism which considers man to be the entirety of social relationship.

Marxism elucidated that man is a being that lives in society, and his entity is associated with his social relationship.

Thus, this view exploded all the previous unscientific views in which man was not considered in social relationship.

The preceding ideology having put forward the view that man is the sum total of social relationship, the immortal Juche idea gave a new answer to the question as to what man's essential quality is.

The readers know that there are countless things in the world. And people discriminate and give names to all of them. How is it? It is that each thing has its intrinsic characteristics. Their characteristics may be physical, chemical or biological. At any rate, everything has a quality of its own distinct from others'.

The question what man is boils down to what man's essential characteristics distinct from those of all other things are.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"The leader gave a new philosophical conception of man by defining Chajusong, creativity and consciousness as the essential features of man, the social being." (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

Chajusong, creativity and consciousness constitute the essential features of man which mark him off from all other things in the world.

Needless to say, man has something in common with other beings: Like every other thing in the world, he is material. In this sense he is also a material being. His body is composed of water, protein, fat, carbohydrate,

inorganic salts and so on. More concretely, it consists of oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and various other elements. Other things, too, have such elements. In a purely material sense, the difference between man and other beings lies only in what kinds of elements are combined and how. And man as a living thing has a common point with other living things. It is the function of metabolism.

Of course, this is not to say that there is no difference between man and other material beings in the material respect.

Let us compare men with animals A man has far more developed brains than an animal He can move his body freely walking upright on his two legs, and is adroit with his hands. However, these are not the fundamental features of men which distinguish them from other material beings. Because only with such biological features we cannot explain why man lives dominating and transforming the world

Biological difference exists even between animals. If we try to find the essential qualities of the human being in his biological features, this implies that even animals can dominate and remake the world in greater or lesser degree in conformity with their level of development. But none of animals, however developed, control and remodel the world even in the least degree.

The human being has essential features which are quite strange to any other things and with which to control and transform the world They are precisely Chajusong, creativity and consciousness

Now I would like to explain the essential qualities of man

In the first place, man is a social being with Chajusong.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"Man is a being with Chajusong, that is, an independent social being." (*Ibid*, p 10)

Chajusong, one of man's essential features, is an attribute of the social creature who wants to live and develop in an independent way as the master of the world and his own destiny. Because he has this quality, man throws off the fetters of nature, opposes all forms of social subjugation and puts everything in his service

We can easily see what is this quality peculiar to man when we compare him with other things, particularly with animals and plants

which are living things like man. Animals and plants as a part of nature maintain their existence by adapting themselves to the given conditions. This is their mode of existence. This is why when they fail to adapt themselves to the environment, they perish.

There is no end of similar phenomena in the natural world. We can see only dwarf plants on high mountains instead of tall ones. Even trees scores of years old are not tall and their branches spread horizontally nearly touching the ground. This is proof that plants live in adaptation to the natural conditions of the alpine zones exposed to the strong and cold wind. Botanists say that a long, long time ago when the climate was not like today, various tall plants grew even in such areas. Then, as the climate became rigorous, those plants which failed to stand it perished, and only those which adapted themselves to it survived. There are many kinds of seaweeds. None of them have stalks as hard as those of trees growing on land. They only have soft stalks or are totally devoid of them. This is because plants with hard stalks can never stand the turbulent seas. This also proves that plants adapt themselves to the environment.

The same can be said of animals. Animals, too, maintain their existence by adapting themselves to their environment. The land animal has legs, but the aquatic animal has fins instead. To say nothing of fish, even the whale which is a mammal has no legs. And the animals occurring in the arctic zones are adapted to there and the tropical animals to their circumstances. If a monkey or an elephant living in the tropics is brought to the arctic region inhabited by polar bears, it will not live even for a week. It is because they cannot endure the arctic cold or catch fish in the water as the bears do. In other words, because they are not adapted to the arctic conditions.

Animals and plants which maintain their existence by adapting themselves to their environment, have many physiological features closely related to it. So, if we are to implant an animal or a plant from a zone with largely different natural conditions, it is necessary to acclimate it for a considerable period of time and alter their physiological features.

The human being is radically different from animals and plants. Of course, he inhabits the earth and so is influenced by his surroundings. But he lives not by adapting himself to the natural environment as a part of

nature but by emerging from its confines and overcoming its binding force. He subordinates everything to himself.

Unlike animals and plants, man is conscious of himself, separates himself from the surrounding world and stands in confrontation with it. Indeed, man is also a product of nature, but he does not belong to it like animals and plants, but stands outside it.

When man approaches this or that thing of nature, he considers it in the light of his own interests. This proves that he is independent of nature. As is to be seen from this, the fact that man stands in confrontation with nature, detached from it, shows that he has Chajusong to get the better of the binding force of nature and place everything at his disposal. Man freed himself from nature and came to lead a social life a long time ago while evolving from the anthropoid. This was the first step of man to break loose from the restraints of the surrounding world.

Man who lives free from the fetters of nature and by subordinating everything to himself in this way, has no such physiological features closely linked with the environment as are found in animals and plants.

There is no marked physiological sign to discriminate between the tropical and the arctic inhabitants. The earth is inhabited by various races, and they differ in the colour of skin, hair, appearance and so on. But this is not a difference caused by the necessity of adaptation to the environment. So, people from the tropics can go and live in the arctic zones and vice versa. Probably the readers may not have heard of acclimating people.

Needless to say, the physical organs of man have developed continuously. Anthropologists proved that compared with ape-men, our ancestors, men of today have more developed sense organs, cleverer hands and, in particular, incomparably more developed brains. However, such changes in the human body have been brought about not through the process of adapting himself to the natural environment like animals and plants, but rather through the process of his activities to free himself from the fetters of nature.

What does it mean that the brains are the most developed of all physical organs of man?

It means that the physical change of man is a product of the process of his purposeful activities to conquer nature. In a word, man is not a being

that lives by adapting itself to the natural environment but a being that lives by mastering the binding force of nature.

Society is another important environment of human life. People live in social relationship and so are subject to social influence. But they do not submissively undergo the influence of the social environment but transform this environment in accordance with their will and needs.

Since society was divided into classes and the relations of domination and submission were established, the independent demands of people found expression in their struggle against social bondage. No one wants to be subordinated to others. Who on earth likes to live shackled to others? The struggle of slaves against the system of slavery, the struggle of serfs against the feudal system, the struggle of the working class against exploitation and oppression by capital and the struggle of the people against the colonial ruling system prove that man is a being that lives not by adapting itself meekly to the given circumstances but by reforming the social relations in line with its own independent requirements.

Chajusong is the life of man, the social being. This refers to his social and political life.

Man has a social and political life in addition to his physical life. The physical life is what keeps man alive as a living organism; social and political life is what keeps him alive as a social being.

Social and political life is more precious for man than his physical life. If man is deprived of his social and political life, he is virtually dead even though he is physically alive.

If eating and keeping himself alive is part and parcel of man's life, what is its difference from animal life? This is why people struggle against oppressors for Chajusong which represents their social and political integrity even at the cost of their lives. The history of every nation records tens of thousands of righteous people who unhesitatingly devoted their lives for their country, for the freedom and welfare of their people and for the Chajusong of the masses. Did they not know that their lives were dear? Yes, they knew. They did so because they deemed it rather better to die fighting than to live a servile and unworthy life shackled to others.

The long road traversed by the Korean revolution under the banner of Juche idea is beset with many stories about fighters who laid down their

lives without hesitation for the country's independence and the people's freedom.

The story of the young girl Gum Sun is one of them. It happened in 1934 when the anti-Japanese armed struggle was being waged under the command of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. Gum Sun, a member of the Children's Corps, bore an especially strong hatred for the enemy--Japanese imperialism. She always faithfully carried out her duties given by her organization Then, one day she was arrested by the Japanese imperialist gendarmerie while out on a liaison mission. In order to ferret out the secrets of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, the brutal Japanese gendarmes coaxed, threatened and tortured her savagely. But she did not give in. To make her surrender, the desperate Japanese imperialists dragged her out before a crowd of people and told her that if she acknowledged her fault, her life would be spared. But she shouted to the crowd:

"Fathers! Mothers! Why are you crying? Don't cry The guerrilla uncles will wipe out the enemy without fail. Please fight on stubbornly till the day when our motherland will be liberated. Down with the Japanese imperialists! Long live the Korean revolution!"

The astounded Japanese imperialists killed her. The girl was only nine years old.

Brought up and disciplined in the Children's Corps organized by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Gum Sun, though young, was too well aware that the motherland is more precious than her own life.

The story of Gum Sun's heroic deed was widely reported by various publications of the world at the time and greatly moved people.

Gum Sun's admirable deed will be remembered long with the glorious history of the Korean revolution. Even now, it is strongly inspiring tens of thousands of people to the solemn struggle for Chajusong. Although Gum Sun lived only for nine years physically, her lofty social and political integrity is alive even today and will live for ever.

Social and political integrity is indeed dearest to man and eternal.

I may be somewhat long in my explanation, but allow me to make only one more remark.

Some people may ask if the physical life of man is worthless. It goes

without saying that the physical life is valuable for man. This is why from old times people wished a long life and good health and invented various legends about "elixir of life". However, simply to maintain the physical life of man cannot be the end of life in itself. Physical life is needed to do worthwhile and useful work for society and the people, and is precious because of this.

In other words, the necessity and value of physical life reside in uplifting social and political integrity.

Further, man is a social being with creativity.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Man is a being with creativity, that is, a creative social being." (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

Creativity is an attribute of the social creature that transforms the world and shapes his own destiny purposefully.

By virtue of his creativity man remodels old things and creates the new and thus transforms nature and society to be more useful and beneficial to himself.

In the first place, man remodels things of the surrounding world to meet his wishes and needs. By his creative activity man produces machinery, remakes the natural environment and makes various articles needed for his life. And through his creative struggle he also steadily reforms society in keeping with his independent desire. After all, the creative activity of man alters the world to be more useful to him.

Contrasted with animals, man's creativity is easy to perceive. In order to maintain their existence animals make use of natural things as they are. No animal, however developed, remakes things for use.

To make their shelters, even animals burrow in the ground or build nests with twigs and blades of grass. Some people ask if this is not a creative activity to remake nature.

Needless to say, animals, too, work changes in nature by burrowing in the ground and building nests. This is not all. The monkey obtains its food by using stones or sticks, and the beaver cuts branches of trees and builds a dam with them to protect its lodge.

But such activities of animals are not creative. If they are creative, their methods will change with the conditions and environments and

develop with time. But the activities of animals remain unchanged as ever. Even now burrowers live in the holes they make in the ground as they did 100 years ago and nesters live in their nests the same way as they did before. And the monkey uses stones, sticks and the like as ever, but cannot reshape them at all. This shows that the activities of animals are not creative, or in other words, they have no creativity.

Unlike animals man is creative, and so the methods of his activity develop further as the days go by. Compare the caves of primitive men with the houses of people today. Compare the stone implements used by primitive men with the machines of today. They are poles apart. If man had no creative quality, could such a change ever take place?

Man is creative, and so he does not live and act in an old-fashioned way. The difference between the caves of primitive men and the modern houses proves that man's activity is creative, that is, he has creativity.

Man not only remodels things of the surrounding world as he wishes but also creates the new. This is a very important aspect of his creativity, his essential feature.

Of course, this does not mean that man creates materials which do not exist in the world, but that he produces articles of a totally different nature with existing materials. For example, people make fibres from stones and produce fibres, plastic goods, medicines, fertilizer and various other things from crude oil. Up-to-date mechanical instruments have all been produced in this way.

It may safely be said that in the present time when science has reached a high level of development, there are more newly-made things than remodelled ones.

Like this, with the development of society, science and technology, the creative ability of man to produce new things increases further. The primitive men dressed stones or bones of animals to make some implements at the best, but the people of the present age obtain new materials by various methods and produce intricate automatic machines. Man's creativity is working miracles even in multiplying animals and plants. Quite until recently, people used to propagate plants by seeds, branches or roots. But today they do so in an incomparably faster rate

than before by an industrial method, by introducing the achievements of cell engineering.

Altering the old and creating the new, like this, man remodels nature and society to be more useful and beneficial to himself. Thanks to this creative nature, he can live and develop even in whatever conditions of life.

Biology has testified that many ancient animals and plants became extinct because with no creativity they were unable to withstand the effects of the changing natural environment. Even now this process of change is going on in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. On the worldwide scale, more than one variety of animal and plant are becoming extinct today. However, human race who can remake the surrounding world as they desire have not perished nor declined since their appearance in the world, but have continued to develop and are developing. This must be ascribed to their creativity as well as Chajusong.

Why, then, is man a creative being?

It is that he has creative ability.

Man has scientific knowledge, experiences and skills acquired in the process of his social practice, which are called his creative ability as a whole. By virtue of this creative ability, man is able to transform things in the surrounding world to suit his needs.

While the desire for independence gives birth to the creative activity of man, the creative ability constitutes the power which guarantees his creative activity. With the growth of this creative ability, the creative activity of man gains in strength and scope and becomes more fruitful.

Man is also a social being with consciousness.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Man is a being with consciousness, that is, a conscious social being." (*Ibid.*, p. 11.)

Consciousness is an attribute of the social creature which determines all his endeavours to understand and reshape the world and himself.

Man continuously carries on activities to understand the world and himself, remake nature and society, and remodel himself. In short, man conducts cognitive and transforming activities. Consciousness is an attribute of man which determines such human activities. Because he has consciousness, he can perceive what are things in the world including

himself and what are the laws of their movement and development, and can transform the world in his own interests.

We can easily see the essence of human consciousness when we compare man with animals. Animals, too, live and act

What is it, then, that determines the activity of animals? It is their biological instinct. Animals eat, sleep, and take flight when they meet a ferocious enemy, ants and squirrels store up food for winter in their holes, spiders weave webs to catch insects; and birds build their nests to lay eggs. All these activities are guided by their biological instinct

Animals have no consciousness. This is why their mode of life always remains the same no matter how much the natural conditions change, and they perish when a drastic change occurs in the external environment The activities of animals, however diversified, do not go beyond the limits of biological activity to preserve their lives and reproduce. In a word, all activities of animals are determined by their instinct.

Take an interesting example.

If you will go to the Central Zoo in Pyongyang, you can see the interesting life of orangoutangs. They keep their hutch clean, sweep the yard with a brush When the tender rings the bell, they set the table and eat their meal with a spoon like a man Their behaviours closely resemble those of men. Some people may simply watch them for a fun. But it should be remembered that their man-like behaviours once touched off a heated controversy among people as to if animals, too, behave purposefully.

The orangoutangs in the zoo really appear to behave purposefully But they never do so. However closely their behaviours resemble to those of man, they are only enacted blindly by habit, their second nature, formed through a long training. An untrained orangoutang will not use a spoon even if it is placed before him together with something to eat.

Human activity is fundamentally different from an animal's behaviour. The former is determined by consciousness, whereas the latter, by instinct.

Of course, since man also has a biological property, some of his activities are based on his instinct. For example, his appetite and sleepiness are caused by his biological instinct. However, the action of biological instinct is quite secondary for man, and cannot determine his activity.

How, then, does consciousness determine the activity of man?

If man is to live, he must understand the world and the laws of its motion and development. For instance, if he wants to extract iron from ores, he should know the melting temperature of iron ores. Because of consciousness, man can discover the properties of things in the surrounding world and the conditions for and processes of their change and development.

Further, consciousness enables man to transform things as he desires. Consciousness brings man to reflect, when confronted with something, if it can be of use to him or how to make it useful. Nobody will wish something haphazardly.

Consciousness also makes man persevering and courageous. Because revolutionaries are conscious that they should guard the revolutionary secrets even at the cost of their lives and that it is an honour to die on the road of revolution, they endure the physical pains and remain true to their revolutionary principle even when they are arrested and cruelly tortured. Because people have consciousness they bear hunger and shake off heavy sleepiness in order to achieve their aim, and accomplish whatever difficult and exacting task, if it is beneficial to society and the people, by overcoming all hardships and exercising their will power.

Thus, all activities of man to recognize and transform the world are determined by his consciousness. Herein lies another distinctive feature of man which distinguishes him strikingly from an animal.

The readers may have seen a turtle lay eggs. It digs a deep pit and then makes a small hole in it. It lays eggs in this hole and covers it up. Its behaviour looks purposeful. What is interesting here is that if it is driven away before closing the hole, it makes the motion of covering it up at another place where there is no egg, before going back to the sea. This shows that the behaviour of the turtle is not a purposeful but a blind, instinctive one.

What a great contrast the purposeful activity of man for transforming the world presents to the blind behaviour of the turtle! A scientific dictionary says that the turtle is long-lived—up to 200 years. But living by instinct, it has wrought no change whatever in nature over the last 200 years. But what a great change man who lives remaking the world

purposefully has produced in the world in the same period! These two contrastive facts remind us once more what a powerful being man with his consciousness is.

I have so far explained three essential features of man. Now let me examine how these features are related to one another.

Chajusong, creativity and consciousness which make the essential qualities of man have close relations among them.

First of all, what are the relations between Chajusong and creativity?

Chajusong finds expression mainly in the position of man as the master of the world, and creativity—in his role as the reformer of the world. Therefore, these two are closely related with each other. Man's creative role in remaking the world is unthinkable apart from his position as the master of the world, and without his creative role of remaking the world, his position as the master of the world cannot be guaranteed in reality. Therefore, Chajusong and creativity always go together in man's life. You cannot make a distinction between human activities naming this as a manifestation of Chajusong and that—of creativity

How, then, is consciousness related to Chajusong and creativity?

The Chajusong and creativity of man are guaranteed by his consciousness A man becomes aware of his specific requirement for Chajusong through consciousness and his creative activity to recognize and transform the world is guaranteed by consciousness. In other words, because he has consciousness, man thinks to live and develop as the master of the world and can purposefully conduct his activity to recognize and reshape the world in his own interests.

Chajusong, creativity and consciousness make man the most superior and powerful being in the world, and induce him to approach the world not fatalistically but revolutionarily, not passively but actively, and to remodel the world not blindly but purposefully.

One more word before winding up this subject. When we say that man lives not by adjusting himself to the external world but by reshaping and changing it as he desires, we never mean that man is not affected by the environment at all. Since man is unable to live outside the world, he is subject to the influence of the surrounding world.

Man is affected by nature before anything else. Nature is the object of

human labour and the material source of human life. It gives man everything for food, clothing and housing. Human life is inconceivable apart from nature. Speaking of the "Kingdom of Heaven", a man once described its scenery as riotous with full-blown flowers all the year round, with trees laden heavily with fruit, and abundant in food everywhere. So, it seems that even unscientific fantasts could not invent a human life independent of nature.

Because man cannot live away from nature, he is bound to be affected by it. Whether land is fertile or not, whether natural resources are abundant or not and whether climate is favourable or not, will more or less affect the life and activity of man. The fact that civilization was born and developed first in the areas with fertile land, rich material resources and favourable climates testifies to the great influence exerted by the natural environments on human life.

Man is also subject to the influence of society. This is a very important problem. Society is a community in which people live and work. Since everybody lives and acts in society, he cannot be free from the influence of society. The social system, if progressive, will provide favourable conditions for human activity and, if reactionary, will restrict human endeavours. There will be no need of lengthy explanation about this for those who remember what a distressing life people had led and how severely their creative activity had been restricted under the colonial rule of imperialism.

After all, people are influenced by their environment. So, if this is ignored, they will fall into subjectivism and adventurism, and will inevitably fail in his endeavours to recognize and remake the world.

Yet, the question is that man does not meekly obey the given circumstances and conditions.

Through his independent, creative and conscious activities, man ceaselessly reforms nature and society, altering what does not meét his needs and replacing what is old and reactionary with what is new and progressive.

Such, in broad outline, is the view on man newly elucidated by the Juche idea.

A social being with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness—this is

the most scientific concept of man. The definition of the scientific concept of man by the Juche idea put an end to the controversy on man which had continued for thousands of years

The philosophical principle which clarifies the position and role of man in the world, that is, the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, is based precisely on this concept of man

With the clarification of the essential features of man by the Juche idea, the curtain fell on the long history of man's ignorance of himself and a new history began when man widens the sphere of his mastery of the world at an unprecedented speed, conscious and confident of his dignified position and unfailing strength.

Man's Attributes Are Not Inborn

I have related that Chajusong, creativity and consciousness constitute the essential features of man.

How, then, has man come to acquire these features? Has he received them from some mysterious "being"?

There is no mysterious "being" in the world, so obviously it has not given them to him. Then, are they inborn? No, they are not because you cannot speak of an independent, creative and conscious activity of a baby Then where have they come from?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"Chajusong, creativity and consciousness are man's social qualities which take shape and develop socially and historically." (*Ibid.*, p 10.)

Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, man's essential features, are social attributes.

What does this mean?

It means that man's essential features have been given him not by nature but by society, and that they are not a natural heritage but have taken shape and developed socially and historically.

Needless to say, they are inconceivable apart from the special physical organs of man developed in the long process of evolution. Unlike

animals, man has highly developed brains, sophisticated hands and other developed physical organs.

Man's brain is incomparably larger and more developed than that of an animal. Even the brain of Java man who lived 600,000 years ago is twice as large as that of the gorilla.

Compare man's hands with the "hands" of the monkey. The latter's "hands" are also capable of holding a stick or a stone. But their thumbs can only touch the forefingers and not others. But the thumb of a man can freely touch the four fingers, and when he works, the thumbs and four fingers cooperate harmoniously. By their appearances alone, man's hands and the "hands" of the monkey seem to have no great difference, but watching them work, we can see that there is an immense difference between them. Thus, the "hands" of the monkey are merely one of its physical organs, whereas the hands of man are not only an organ of his body but, more importantly, a labouring organ.

It is also interesting to compare their feet. The monkey's feet are capable of holding tree branches. This is why it moves freely on trees. But the feet of man cannot grasp an article. Then, are they inferior to the feet of the monkey? No, they are not. Although unable to grasp a thing, the feet of man enable him to walk erect. This freed his hands from the ambulatory duty, turning them into a labouring organ, and made his brains develop further. In fact, when the anthropoid, the ancestor of man, was living in the trees like the monkey, its feet were such that they could hold branches of trees. But as it evolved into man, its feet gradually developed into ones as we see today.

By virtue of these developed physical organs, man was able to acquire the thinking and labouring functions peculiar to him and Chajusong which no other living things have. However, you should not think that Chajusong, creativity and consciousness took shape as a consequence of the evolution and development of man's physical organs.

Man's essential features had not and could not have existed even as an embryo before the appearance of society. The developed physical organs of man can provide physiological conditions for acquiring Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, but do not directly engender them.

Beyond any doubt, man's attributes came into being and developed historically while he lived and acted in the social relationship.

From the first day of their appearance in the world, people formed society and lived in it. This was because only social force made it possible to conquer nature and carve out their destiny. In the course of social life man came to have an independent desire to be the master of the world, acquired the creative ability to transform the world purposefully, and formed consciousness to adjust and control his own activity

Chajusong, creativity and consciousness which had been formed in this way were passed down to posterity and, on the basis of new practice, developed further

The same can be said of independent thinking. If man is to be an independent, creative and conscious social being, he must, first of all, have independent thinking This ideological consciousness arises not from nature but from social life. Without social life, there can be no thinking or speech, a medium of its expression.

Although there can be no such man as lives alone, separated from society, in the world, let us assume that there is such a man What does he need ideology and speech for? After all, thinking arises from people's social life and, for this reason, consciousness in general including thinking is called social consciousness

The process of growth of man shows clearly that man's attributes are formed and developed socially As aforesaid, a baby shows no sign of independent thinking or creative ability Nobody will question this. A newborn baby will not recognize his mother for some time, let alone have an ideology. But when he is hungry, he cries, when he is put to the breast, he sucks milk, when he is sleepy, he falls asleep. He does all this without being taught. This proves that a man biologically inherits his instinct as a living organism from his parents, but not his ideological consciousness.

In the process of his growth, man receives social education, and through practical activity, he acquires independent consciousness and creative capacity. If mothers are told that man only inherits biological instinct from his mother, they may be offended. But it does not mean that mothers have no part to play in bringing up their children into independent and creative beings. Education of people starts from home,

and so mothers play a very important part in bringing up their children into useful men. There is an old saying that a great man has a great mother. And education by mothers is also of a social nature. Mothers teach their children with what they learned from social education and from their own social practice.

In brief, Chajusong, creativity and consciousness are born of social life and develop with social progress.

The readers must have read Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe.* Of course, mentioning this novel here abruptly, I do not mean to discuss its ideological and artistic value. They say that the prototype of Robinson was a Selkirk, an Englishman, who lived alone for many years on an island which had been unknown by that time. But that does not matter. Robinson, shipwrecked and drifted ashore on the desert island, leads a solitary life there for 28 long years. An energetic and competent man, he is not disheartened and does not sit still waiting for death, but hews out his life by his own effort. He builds a hut, catches and tames wild sheep, and makes clothes and shoes of animal skin. He even cultivates crops and builds a boat with a log.

Seeing that Robinson Crusoe carved out his life alone for as many as 28 years, some people may ask if his activity is of a social nature. Of course, it is.

His independent consciousness and creative ability are by no means inborn nor take shape after his arrival at the island. He is a sailor, so it is improbable that he learned carpentry, sewing or farming before. But he must have picked up a knowledge about such jobs through social education and on different occasions. Moreover, he has a gun, gunpowder and a knife which embody social strength in them. Therefore, although he lived alone on a lonely island in the distant sea, he was a social being with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness given him by society before. This is why he was able to live alone without dying for as long as 28 years.

In a nutshell, Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, man's essential features, are not inborn but imparted by society.

Man is the only being in the world with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, because man alone lives in social community. This is why man is called a social being with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness.

2. THE JUCHE IDEA GIVES AN ABSOLUTELY CORRECT WORLD OUTLOOK

We have already touched on the philosophical principle underlying the Juche idea Figuratively speaking, we have examined the foundation of the huge building called Juche idea

Now it is time to inspect the building standing on this groundwork.

In the first place, we should study the view, viewpoint and stand on the world expounded by the Juche idea

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out

"The Juche idea established a man-centred outlook on the world by throwing a fresh light on the essential characteristics of man and his position and role in the world." (*Ibid*, p 12)

The view on the world expounded by the Juche idea is a man-centred outlook In other words, the Juche idea throws a new light on the view, viewpoint and stand regarding the world with man as the central factor

The world outlook clarified by the Juche idea has two aspects. one is the view on the world, and the other, the viewpoint and stand towards it.

The view on the world gives an answer to the question what our world is like and what transforms and develops it, and the viewpoint and stand towards the world answer the question as to what viewpoint and attitude people should take to recognize and transform the world

Now let me first deal with the view on the world clarified by the world outlook of Juche.

1) WHAT HAS BEEN THE VIEW OF PEOPLE ON THE WORLD?

Before dealing with the new world outlook elucidated by the Juche idea, I would like to touch briefly on what the previous world outlook was.

As the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out, now that the materiality of the world and its general laws of motion have been made clear, the Juche idea has thrown light on the laws governing the domination, transformation and development of the world by man on the basis of a new philosophical principle.

This means that the Juche world outlook is premised on the philosophies of the past and, at the same time, is entirely different from them. Therefore, in order to correctly understand the originality and trueness of the Juche world outlook, it is necessary to know, if only in brief outline, what views the former philosophies took on the world.

The Wrong Views of Two Philosophers

As stated previously, the former philosophies regarded the problem of relations between matter and consciousness, between being and thinking, as their basic problem.

The former philosophies based their interpretation of the world on the problem of relations between matter and consciousness. According to their views on the origin of the world, the former philosophies were divided into two groups in regard to the view on the world—materialistic and idealistic.

Whether the world moves and changes or not is one of important questions regarding the view on the world. Here, too, the former philosophies were divided largely into two classes—the dialectical view

that the world moves and changes uninterruptedly and the metaphysical view that the world does not move but remains static.

Since there existed a wide variety of philosophical schools over thousands of years, it is needless to say that on close scrutiny, even materialistic philosophies differed in their views on the world and this was true of the idealistic philosophies too. Thus, in specific problems philosophies differed from one another But when it comes to essential problems, they can be divided broadly into the two groups as aforesaid. And it should be remembered that the contents of materialistic and idealistic views on the world changed and were enriched in the process of historical development.

Now let us have a closer look on how the former philosophies viewed the world

Young children are dreamy and very inquisitive You may have experienced this So, they pester their elders with questions as to how men, beasts and trees came into being and what there is on the moon. Then, fathers and mothers would answer these questions with various legends or old tales.

Most legends and old tales say that there is a mysterious "being" and it has created everything in the world

Are these legends and tales inventions framed up by some people simply for amusement without any purpose? No, they aren't.

Our forefathers of remote ages were too ignorant to understand everything and all phenomena taking place in the surrounding world correctly and in most cases approached them fantastically. The views of ancient people on the world are reflected in those stories we heard from our grandmothers and mothers when we were still living in the dreamland of innocent childhood.

As a matter of fact, not all people of remote antiquity looked on the world fantastically. Through the pictures of beasts and other things in the Lascaux Cave of France and the Altamira of Spain where primitive people lived, we can guess that they tried to see the world as it was by intuition. Needless to say, their views on the world were childish and not yet worthy of the name of philosophical world outlook. But it is a fact that they, too, had their own views on the world.

After that, in the course of struggle for Chajusong people's knowledge on the world broadened and deepened and their views on the world altered accordingly. Some people of ancient society opposed the fantastic view on the world and tried to understand it as it was. Some of them said that there were "atoms" in the world and they changed this or that way to make all things in it, and others said that all things in the world were born of earth, water, fire, air and the like. Reflected in these views, it can be said, is an attempt to regard the world as material.

But because at that time people lacked a deep knowledge of the world, these views did no more than lay the beginning of scientific understanding of the world. Hence, the people of later ages called these views of ancient philosophers simple materialism.

Dealing with the question of whether the world moves and develops or not, some ancient philosophers thought that all things change uninterruptedly. Heraclitus, an ancient Greek materialist, said that "one cannot enter the same river twice." This contains the dialectical thinking that all things in the world constantly change and develop. In fact, his dialectical thinking is very immature, but it can be regarded as a very advanced idea by its contemporary standard. The philosophical concept of matter itself was established when science had developed to a considerable extent. How, then, can a flawless philosophical thought be expected from ancient people?

In ancient society there also appeared an idealistic world outlook which reflected the interests of the reactionary slaveholding class. This was a result of doing away with what is rough and childish in the fantastic views of primitive men and embellishing them cleverly. According to this world outlook, all things in the world have been made by some almighty being and move in conformity with the revelation of that being.

This idealistic world outlook originated in ancient society was refashioned in different forms and prevailed throughout the Middle Ages.

Human thoughts will constantly develop in the course of practice, and even in the circumstances in which mediaeval ignorance prevailed, attempts to explain the world scientifically reappeared towards the end of the Middle Ages with the growth of the people's aspirations to carve out their destiny and their ability to transform the world. This is precisely the

progressive view on nature which appeared at the dawn of capitalism This view was a bid to interpret the world materialistically. But because of the low level of scientific development and the limitations of the socio-political situation of those who put it forward, the view failed to explain the world correctly and, in particular, to break with the idealistic stand in approaching social phenomena. It regarded the world as standing still instead of changing and developing constantly Therefore, the people of later ages called this world view mechanical materialism or metaphysical materialism

The idealistic world view, too, did not mark time. Unable to hoodwink people with an unscientific mediaeval world outlook because society and science and technology developed, idealists began to come forward with all descriptions of philosophies Of course, the epistemological causes which prevented them from seeing the world scientifically contributed to this. Anyhow, with the passage of time most variegated idealistic philosophies came out But essentially, they were not different from the former idealistic world outlook in that they held that the world was created by something mysterious, something spiritual.

I cannot refer to all views on the world advanced by the previous philosophies. So, I would like to confine myself here to the views of two philosophers

The two philosophers are Hegel and Feuerbach who are known to all students of philosophy. I refer to only two of so many philosophers because their world views represented the materialistic and idealistic outlooks on the world before the appearance of a scientific outlook, and the Marxist view on the world, the first scientific view, is a critical inheritance of their world outlooks

Hegel is a classical German philosopher who lived from the seventies of the 18th century to the early thirties of the 19th century and perfected idealistic dialectics

His view on the world boils down to this there is an "absolute idea" in the world, which changes over to nature through a purely logical process and further develops to reach the highest stage of self-development through a socio-historical process and again returns to itself, that is, "absolute idea". This means that all things and phenomena of the

world are made by "absolute idea". Hence we call his philosophy objective idealism.

And explaining his idealistic philosophical system, Hegel put forward some reasonable ideas. His philosophy is extremely perverted by his idealistic stand and incomplete, but contains dialectical ideas. His view was that all things of the world are connected with each other and change and develop. He advanced a few reasonable ideas as to the reason why things change and develop and how. But, being an idealist, he did not regard the process of change and development as that of nature and society existing in reality but as that of some nonexistent "absolute idea". This is why his dialectical thought is called idealistic dialectic.

The Hegelian philosophy came to have a negative and a positive side in the long run, the former being to understand the world idealistically and the latter considering the world to move, change and develop although it was idealistic.

On the whole, the Hegelian philosophical world outlook is, needless to say, reactionary and his view on society and history is especially harmful. Take an example. Discussing anthropology in his "philosophy of mind" (this can be regarded as Hegel's viewpoint on society and history), Hegel said that it is inevitable that inequality should exist between the races and nations that have emerged at a lower stage of "absolute idea" and those which have come into being at its higher stage because they have appeared at different stages of development of "absolute idea". It is no secret that once this reactionary view of his served the Hitler fascist clique's policy of racialism.

Now, let us briefly examine Feuerbach's world outlook.

Feuerbach is a materialist philosopher who represented the interests of the radical capitalist class of Germany on the eve of the bourgeois revolution of the 19th century. He first belonged to the Hegelian school but parted with Hegel before long and came out against idealism and all kinds of mystical illusions.

Thus, he criticized the idealistic views that the objective material world was born of spiritual force or of soul.

He maintained that there can be no spiritual force apart from human bodies and that consciousness is merely an attribute and function of the

brain made up of matter. So he said that nature and man alone can be the real object of philosophy, and called his philosophy humanics.

In his eagerness to oppose Hegel's idealism, Feuerbach threw away even the affirmative aspect of his philosophy, namely, the dialectical thought that all things are interconnected, move and change. As a result, he fell to metaphysics which regards everything as immutable. He failed to understand that all things of the world are connected with each other and to see things and phenomena from the viewpoint of motion and development.

He also failed to see man socially and historically but in the abstract, i.e., simply as a biological being. With regard to social phenomena, he remained idealistic.

What, then, are the mistakes of the two philosophers in their world outlook?

Briefly speaking, Hegel considered the world to move and change but interpreted it idealistically This was his principal error.

On the contrary, Feuerbach thought that the world consists of matter, but regarded all things in the world as isolated from each other and immutable, without moving and changing. This was his fundamental mistake.

In spite of the difference in their concrete expression, the fundamental errors of all previous philosophies up to Hegel and Feuerbach, which set the problem of relations between matter and consciousness as the basic question of philosophy and argued pro and con about it for thousands of years boil down to the aforesaid.

From Nonscience to Science

It was Marx and Engels who took up the relations of matter and consciousness as the basic question of philosophy and, on this basis, rectified the basic mistakes and weak points of the former philosophies in explaining the world.

As a student of Berlin University, Marx was still idealistic in his philosophical views. At that time he belonged to the "left Hegelian

school" that was trying to draw an atheistic conclusion from the philosophy of Hegel. When Feuerbach advocated materialism criticizing the idealistic philosophy of Hegel, Marx was fascinated by it. Later, recalling that time, Engels said that we (the left Hegelian school including Marx) at once fell in line with Feuerbach. This means that the philosophy of Feuerbach had exerted great influence on Marx and Engels.

Later, when Marx and Engels came in contact with the struggle of the working class for freedom and liberation, they came to take a critical view of the previous philosophical thoughts and enunciated their own philosophical thought.

Marxist philosophy took its sources from the materialism of Feuerbach and the dialectics of Hegel. Marx and Engels cast aside what is negative and unscientific in the ideas of the two philosophers and inherited and critically reformed what is affirmative and reasonable and thus put forward dialectical materialism.

Their view on the world is, briefly, that the world is material as a whole and all things in the world are connected with each other and constantly move, change and develop.

Dialectical materialism of Marxism is of opinion that the world is essentially material and there is nothing in the world but moving matter. Proceeding from this, it explained what matter is, what form it takes and how it changes and develops.

Dialectical materialism elucidated that consciousness and mind is a reflection of the objective material world, thereby giving a materialistic explanation to the phenomena of consciousness and mind.

By applying materialistic dialectics to the realm of social history, Marxist philosophy made clear how the general laws of the material world operate in this sphere. This was unprecedented in the philosophies before Marx.

With the appearance of Marxist philosophy, the mistakes of the former philosophies in viewing the world with the problem of relations of matter and consciousness as their basic question were rectified and the materiality of the world and the general laws governing its development elucidated scientifically.

This was a significant event which turned the philosophical thinking of humanity from nonscience into science.

Herein lie the historic services the founders of Marxism rendered to philosophy.

Now, however, the times have changed The revolutionary activities of the popular masses for Chajusong have made great strides forward over the past hundred and tens of years since the appearance of the Marxist world outlook. Compared with the whole of the historical course of mankind, one century and a half is, of course, a very short period. But in this period humanity made a big stride forward in transforming nature and society. Development of practice is bound to demand the progress of thoughts, and a change in the sphere of practice is impossible without a change in thinking

Mathematicians say that mathematics which can be called the base of natural science has gone through three stages of development in step with the human activities to conquer nature. Up until the 15th century the concepts of real number, quantity and geometrical figure were formed and studied; from then to the first half of the 19th century primarily quantitative and geometrical changes were studied, and since the latter half of the 19th century the quantitative relations and spatial forms of the real world have been the most general subjects of studies

As the readers know, Euclidean geometry had remained the sole fixed truth for as many as 2,000 years until the appearance of non-Euclidean geometry of Lobachevski and played a big part in the activities of man to master nature. But the progress of human activities for mastery of nature raised numerous problems Euclidean geometry was unable to solve. Practice called for a new geometry and at last non-Euclidean geometry came into being.

It is natural and inevitable that our times when a radical change has taken place in the struggle of the people for Chajusong should demand an innovation in the view on the world.

The founders of Marxism said that their theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

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Now, however, the times have changed. The revolutionary activities of the popular masses for Chajusong have made great strides forward over the past hundred and tens of years since the appearance of the Marxist world outlook Compared with the whole of the historical course of mankind, one century and a half is, of course, a very short period. But in this period humanity made a big stride forward in transforming nature and society. Development of practice is bound to demand the progress of thoughts, and a change in the sphere of practice is impossible without a change in thinking.

Mathematicians say that mathematics which can be called the base of natural science has gone through three stages of development in step with the human activities to conquer nature Up until the 15th century the concepts of real number, quantity and geometrical figure were formed and studied; from then to the first half of the 19th century primarily quantitative and geometrical changes were studied, and since the latter half of the 19th century the quantitative relations and spatial forms of the real world have been the most general subjects of studies.

As the readers know, Euclidean geometry had remained the sole fixed truth for as many as 2,000 years until the appearance of non-Euclidean geometry of Lobachevski and played a big part in the activities of man to master nature. But the progress of human activities for mastery of nature raised numerous problems Euclidean geometry was unable to solve Practice called for a new geometry and at last non-Euclidean geometry came into being

It is natural and inevitable that our times when a radical change has taken place in the struggle of the people for Chajusong should demand an innovation in the view on the world

The founders of Marxism said that their theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

Inasmuch as the struggle of the masses of the people for Chajusong is conducted in different ages and diverse specific realities, the general

and so we appear to exist outside the objective world, but, in reality, we are inside it. This problem will be dealt with a little more concretely farther ahead when studying the socio-historical principles.

In short, all things exist within the big framework of the objective world, which consists of man and the surrounding world, that is, nature and society.

By the way, it will not be impertinent to touch on three questions which may arise with regard to the problem of what our world consists of. Because these questions occasionally arise in the course of discussing the Juche idea.

Some people question if it is proper to regard the world as consisting of man, nature and society since once the world existed without man.

It is true that there was such a world. The globe is said to be seven billion years old, but men appeared on it only two million years ago (today some scholars say three million years ago, but this does not matter). So when compared with the prehuman history of the earth, its history after the appearance of human race is but a moment. Moreover, the world is boundless in space and in time. So, it is unknowable how long the world had existed before the advent of human beings. But it is unnecessary to argue about this question here.

What bearing does the world without man have on the debate about the world outlook which should give an answer to the question of human destiny? It may be a subject of astronomical or geological study, but not a theme of discussion about the world outlook. After its formation the earth had passed through 3.5 billion years of astronomical development before the arrival of the era of geological development, when living things appeared on the earth where only inorganic matter had existed. In the process of development of the living things, higher animals came into being and then men appeared as a result of the latter's evolution. This meant the fundamental change of the world. With the appearance of human beings the natural world turned into a world where there are man and society besides nature. Can there be a greater change?

The world which is the subject of the world outlook now we are discussing is one which underwent a qualitative change with the appearance of man.

We need not deal with the prehuman world while we discuss about the world of today where there are human beings. This is as pointless as one asks what a magpie looks like when discussing about a crow.

Others ask cannot we subdivide the world otherwise than into man, nature and society? We can demarcate the world into the organic and the inorganic, into the animate and inanimate, can't we?

Of course, we can All things in the world are either organic or inorganic, either living or nonliving. However, this is not a philosophical approach, for this way no answer to the question of human destiny can be obtained It is at all events a method of study applied in natural sciences such as chemistry and biology. In that way all things of the world can be classified into gas, liquid, solid and plasma as in physics, and regarded only in quantitative relation as in mathematics. They can all give an answer to the question in what forms all things in the world exist, but never to the question of relation between man and the surrounding world.

Yet others argue that there is the concept of matter which covers all of man, nature and society

This is a philosophical category elucidated already by materialism Needless to say, all things in the world are material The world has a thousand and one kinds of things, but when everything is analysed into their component elements, their kinds are amazingly small. The number of molecules making up things in this world exceeds one million, but when these are taken apart, we get only 100-odd kinds of atoms. These atoms combine in various ways to form the material world which presents most variegated looks we see today. This means that the world is material as a whole.

But as I have already pointed out, the view that the world consists of objective material beings has proved the fallacy of the idealistic view that the world is a product of consciousness or mind, and has paved the way for correctly viewing the world. But it does not directly give an answer to the question of human destiny. Because according to the understanding that the world consists of matter, man is simply resolved into matter in general as a part of the material world

Indeed, man is also a material being, but not a simple one. Man who

has Chajusong, creativity and consciousness is a special being of the material world antipodal to all other material beings in the world.

The world outlook which should give an answer to the question of human destiny should inevitably distinguish between man and the surrounding world. Only then, is it possible to explain whether man can dominate the surrounding world or not, whether he can carve out his destiny or not, and, if he can, what he is to do.

In short, viewed from the standpoint of world outlook, the world consists of man and the surrounding world. This is an objective truth.

Our World Is Dominated by Man

I have so far explained that the world consists of man, nature and society. But this does not give a complete description of what the world is like.

In order to find out what the solar system is like, it is necessary to know what it is formed of and, on this basis, how all the stars which constitute it are related to one another.

Likewise, if one is to fully grasp what the world really is like, he should know that the world is made up of man, nature and society and, on this basis, how these components are connected with each other.

How, then, does the Juche world outlook consider man, nature and society are related with one another?

The Juche idea considers that in our world everything is dominated by man, the most developed and powerful being.

Just as it is objective that the world consists of man, nature and society, so it is that all things in the world are dominated by man.

How is it that the relation between man and the surrounding world is a relation of human domination of the world?

One can understand this problem only when he studies the essential features of man in relation to the characteristics of the surrounding world.

Everything has some bearing on other things. And the relation between things is determined by their characteristics. In other words, all things are connected with other things according to their characteristics.

For example, inorganic things have only physico-chemical qualities and, therefore, have solely physico-chemical relations with other things. That is to say, they only show physico-chemical reaction to other things. But plants which have the function of metabolism maintain relations with other things by absorbing necessary substances from the environment and discharging unnecessary substances through the process of anabolism and catabolism.

Man's relations with other things are determined by his characteristics.

As aforesaid, man is a social being that has Chajusong, creativity and consciousness Hence he has relations with the surrounding world independently, creatively and consciously. Nothing in the world has relations with other things as man.

In case of living things, for example, their relations with other things are characterized by adaptation to the outside world; they are blind and unconscious relations True, in the natural world, too, the relations between things are diversified But however varied their forms, nothing in the natural world has relations with the outside world independently, creatively and consciously. Beasts of prey devour other animals But theirs is no more than a blind and unconscious relation characterized by adaptation to the outside world.

But man's relation with other things in the world is a relation between an independent being and simply dependent and restricted beings, between a creative being and adapting beings, and, between a conscious being and unconscious beings From this relation proceeds man's domination of the world.

To be more concrete, for his Chajusong, man exists and moves, not simply depending on and restricted by the external things but subordinating them to him. But all other things in the world exist and move, simply depending on and restricted by the external things Thus, the relation between man and other things inevitably becomes a relation of domination of the latter by the former.

Man is a creative being. So he always establishes relations with other things the way he transforms the latter as he wishes And the world knows no other being than human beings which is capable of reshaping other

things. From this it follows that the relation between creative man and other things is bound to be a relation of domination of the latter by the former.

Man is a conscious being. His consciousness has the quality of determining all human activities to understand and transform the world, and this consciousness regulates and controls human activities and, through this, the unconscious beings in the world. From this it follows that the relation between man, a conscious being, and other things of the world, unconscious beings, cannot but be a relation of domination of the world by man.

The same can be said of the relation between man and society. But this will be dealt with when we discuss the socio-historical principles.

In short, the relation between man, a social being with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, and all other things of the world is not simply a relation of mutual dependence and restriction but a relation of domination and subordination. Such a relation leads, after all, to the domination of the world by man.

Here is a question the readers should understand correctly. It is that one should not think as if the world has been formed with man as the core just because we say man is the master of the world. The position of man as master of the world on no account means the centre of the world. Because the world is originally boundless in space and eternal in time there can be no centre in it. In natural science the spatial centre can be mentioned (though relatively), but not in philosophy. That man is the master of the world means at all events that man occupies a dominant position in the world. Therefore, it is wrong to take man as the center of the world because he is its master.

I have now explained one aspect of the view on the world clarified by the Juche idea.

It is an immutable objective truth that our world is a world dominated by man. This view on the world, therefore, convinces people that man is capable of dominating the world and that the world is certainly controlled by him, and it serves as the firm theoretical basis for the viewpoint and stand of considering and approaching all problems from the angle of his interests.

Our World Is Transformed and Developed by Man

In the foregoing item we studied what the world is like. Now let me deal with the problem of what transforms and develops the world.

This is also an aspect of the view on the world clarified by the Juche idea.

The philosophical world outlooks of the past made clear, in addition to the materiality of the world, how all things of the world change and develop. Needless to say, this serves as a guideline for man to recognize and reshape the world

Under the conditions in which the former philosophy explained the self-motivated change and development of the world, the Juche world outlook made clear that the world is transformed and developed by man. This gave a scientific answer to the question what transformed and developed the world

Why, then, is our world transformed and developed by man?

This question can also be explained only according to the specific characters of human activities.

There is a saying that ten years are enough to alter the appearance of mountains and rivers This means that nothing in the world is immutable. All things in the world change and develop in close connection with other things, rather than moving and changing in isolation independently of them. The earth moves in close interaction with the sun and many planets and satellites of the solar system If it moves in isolation and in its own way without such connection, the earth may have already dashed against some other star To mention another example. Plants, too, move and develop in connection with other things When drought continues, grain crops wither away. This tells that crops are moving in close connection with water.

Needless to say, man, too, acts in association with other things. Man's activity to hew out his destiny is conducted only in relation to the surrounding world. There can be no human activity without an object

Man's relation with the surrounding world is fundamentally different

from the interconnection between the other things of the world. Of course, not all relations between things in the natural world are alike. Some things are connected with each other by the form of dynamic movement and others by the form of physico-chemical movement. In case of living things, their relations are formed through biological movements.

But the relation between things in the natural world, no matter in what form of movement it may be established, is simply a relation of depending on and restricted by each other. In the natural world there can be no movement of one thing transforming another. In the natural world, too, undoubtedly the change of one thing brings about that of other things. Sometimes, when pine caterpillars multiply much, a few mountains are stripped bare. But a change in nature is not a change caused by the transformation of things by another thing, but a spontaneous change brought about by the movement of things which simply depend on and are restricted by each other.

But the impact of human activity on the surrounding world is totally different from this.

Because man has the qualities of Chajusong, creativity and consciousness, he acts upon the surrounding world through independent, creative and conscious activities. This is how our world is remodelled and developed by man.

Let us have a closer look into the matter.

Man with the property of Chajusong acts upon the surrounding world through his independent activity and thereby transforms the things of this world one by one. The domestic animals which people now use as work cattle or as sources of food did not appear as such from the start. According to biologists, people domesticated wild oxen approximately 10,000 years ago and wild fowl in India some 5,000 years ago.

Man transforms other things by his independent activities to dominate the world. In this way the world is transformed by man.

Man with the property of creativity acts upon the surrounding world through his creative activity. He always remoulds things of this world purposefully to meet his needs.

An example of this is provided by people improving the breeds of domestic animals. Livestock are not continuously improved of their own

accord for the good of human beings although they have already been domesticated Just as children take after their parents, so animals of the new generation take after their previous generation. This is due to genetic inheritance inherent in all animals For this heredity, domestic animals take after their parents regardless of the will of men However earnestly men may wish oxen to grow strong and big, they will not satisfy the human desire of their own accord.

But men who have a creative nature originate new breeds of domestic animals necessary for them by producing changes in their genes This is biologically called artificial selection This term came into use to denote that people eliminate bad elements deliberately from the genes of animals and plants and preserve their good elements to originate new breeds and varieties.

In this way people transform things of the surrounding world through their creative activities.

Man who has the quality of consciousness acts upon the surrounding world through his conscious activity. Because he is conscious, man finds out the essence of things in the surrounding world and the laws of their movement, and transforms them to meet his needs. In whatever difficult conditions and circumstances, man who is conscious achieves his purpose at all costs by overcoming all hardships and difficulties to meet his requirements In this way he remoulds things in the world one by one.

This is the reason why ours is a world which is reshaped and developed by man.

There is another reason for it It is that all things in the surrounding world change and develop in accordance with definite laws.

When we say that things in the natural world move spontaneously and blindly, it does not mean that they move without any law. We say so simply to contrast their movement with the purposeful activity of human beings. Although everything in the natural world moves spontaneously and blindly, it is governed definitely by law. Water boils at 100° C under the normal atmospheric pressure, but when the pressure is lower, it will boil even below 100° C. This is a law. When one is ignorant of this law, he cannot cook rice properly on a mountain where the air pressure is low. The reason is that if on a mountain where the air pressure is low, the same

quantity of water is put in the pot as under the normal air pressure and heated, all water will evaporate before the rice is fully done.

Man can transform the world because he has Chajusong, creativity and consciousness and, at the same time, because the surrounding world moves according to fixed laws. If the surrounding world moves irregularly without any law, man will not be able to master its motion and, accordingly, transform it as he desires. Because there is a definite law governing the movement of the surrounding world, the human activity to remould it in his interests is possible. If all things in the world move without any principle, there can be no science.

Not only nature but also society is transformed and developed by man. This will be treated later when the socio-historical principles are discussed.

In a word, ours is a world where things that change and develop according to some laws are transformed and developed through the purposeful activity of man who has Chajusong, creativity and consciousness. This is an immutable law operating in our world which consists of man, nature and society, that is, man and the surrounding world.

I have so far explained why ours is a world which is transformed by man.

How, then, is the world transformed and developed by man?

Is it transformed and developed at random? No. There is an inexorable law here. The law-governed process of transformation and development of the world can be understood only when it is viewed from the standpoint of the essential features of human activity.

First of all, the world is transformed and developed in the direction in which man's Chajusong is realized. This is quite natural.

Why is the world transformed and developed in such a direction?

The reason is that man's activity to reshape the world is motivated by the basic requirement of man to live independently as the master of the world.

The movement of nature itself has no purpose. It is true that when viewed historically, nature, too, is governed by the law of development from the lower to the higher stage and from the simple to the complex. In this sense it can be said that the development of nature has orientation.

But in any case, this orientation of development is not intentional and purposeful but spontaneous.

But human activity always has a purpose. This purpose is precisely the realization of Chajusong. A being with the attribute of Chajusong, man always acts purposefully to realize his Chajusong. Thus, he alters things in the world to meet his needs or makes what is wanting.

Owing to such human activity the world is uninterruptedly reshaped and developed in such a way as to ensure the realization of man's Chajusong. Man's activity has brought about many changes on the earth. Numberless towns and villages have appeared and land has been put under cultivation Ores, coal and petroleum are exploited and used to make various new products Many wild beasts have been domesticated. And so we could go on

What is the purpose of all these changes and development? It is the realization of Chajusong of man. This is why the history of transformation and development of the world coincides with the history of realization of Chajusong of man It is an objective law that the world is reshaped and developed in such a way as to ensure Chajusong for man

The transformation and development of the world mean a process of placing a still wider realm and more complex forms of movement of the world under human control with the growth of man's Chajusong and creativity. The independent demand of man to dominate the world and the creative ability of man to reshape it purposefully do not mark time.

Could primitive men ever dream of our civilized world? It is not too much to say that their wish to live in control of the world was at best to catch more beasts and pick more wild fruit to escape starvation. But the desire of our contemporary people to master the world is very high. They are not content with eating their fill but want to enjoy an affluent material and cultural life while working with ease.

The creative ability of man, too, develops constantly. Primitive men carried on their activities to conquer nature with difficulty by using stones and sticks, but the people of today gain the mastery of nature with sophisticated machines and various means based on modern science and technology. We should study historically how Chajusong, creativity and

consciousness, the essential features of man, find their expression in reality.

The greater his independent desire and creative ability grow, the more vigorously man conducts his activity to dominate the surrounding world. As a result, a wider realm and more complex and higher forms of movement of the world come under the control of man.

The sphere of the world controlled by man in the first days when human race appeared on the earth and started their activity of transformation was quite negligible. If it is indicated on the world map, it will be no more than a dot. But today the vast area of the earth is under the control of man. Man has already taken the first step to conquer the universe. Therefore, there is no doubt that with the growth of man's activity to transform the world, the sphere of the world under his control will be extended to space beyond the bounds of the earth.

The transformation and development of the world is a process in which not only a wider realm of the world but also more complex forms of movement of the world are put under his control.

With the growth of man's independent desire and creative ability, his activity to remodel the world will develop step by step. Thus, human activity gradually advances from understanding and mastering the simple and lower forms of movement of the world at first to the mastery of more complex and higher forms of movement.

Take food for example. At first men used natural things for food almost raw. Namely, they picked wild fruit and killed wild animals and ate them. Then, in the course of practical activity to conquer nature, they saw seeds of plants fall on the ground and grow. So they began to cultivate grain crops for food. This was how agriculture came into being. Men learned that they could get meat with ease by taming and propagating wild animals instead of hunting them. This was the beginning of stock farming.

When people started raising crops and livestock, they did not do so with any good knowledge of biological principles. They learned from experience that if seeds are planted, crops grow, and if wild animals are kept in a pen, they are gradually tamed and become meek. This was all they knew. Then, later, with the deepening of their knowledge about nature, they learned the laws of biological movement operating in the

organic bodies of animals and plants. So, they regulated and controlled these laws and made the plants and animals more productive as they wanted.

This shows that it is a law that with the increase of man's independent desire and creative ability, more complex and higher forms of movement of the world come under his control.

It is now time to conclude this section.

To sum up, the material world which changes and develops constantly due to its own factors is a world which is transformed and developed by man.

The new view on the world enunciated by the Juche idea convinces us scientifically that man is the only master and transformer of the world and inspires us with a firm faith in the victory of the solemn cause of remodelling and altering the world. We see the dignity and great strength of man in this immortal idea

3) WHAT VIEWPOINT AND STAND SHOULD WE TAKE IN APPROACHING THE WORLD?

We have so far studied the view on the world which is a part of the Juche world outlook.

Now we are going to consider the viewpoint and attitude towards the world which are the other part of the Juche world outlook.

What Are the Viewpoint and Attitude towards the World?

While the view on the world explains the question of what the world is like and how the world changes and develops, the viewpoint and stand towards the world throw light on the question of what attitude man should take towards the world to understand and transform it properly. In other

words, while the view on the world clarifies the law governing the material world which objectively exists, independent of our will, the viewpoint and attitude to the world give an answer to the question of what should be done to understand the material world correctly and reshape it in line with the independent desire of man.

If a philosophical world outlook is to be perfect, it is necessary to give correct answers to the above-mentioned two questions.

What is the reason? As aforesaid, the mission of philosophy is to help work out the destiny of man. If man is to carve out his destiny, a mere knowledge of what the world is like and how the world changes and develops is not enough. To do so, he must transform the world positively according to this knowledge. This requires a correct viewpoint and stand towards the world.

We can see some practically useless men even though they have a wealth of knowledge. There may be various reasons for this, but the main reason is that they do not know how to act and for what purpose.

Uses of the same knowledge differ with people, some using it for a good purpose and others for a bad end.

For example, atomic energy is used peacefully for the promotion of well-being of the people in some countries, but in other countries it is employed as a mass destruction weapon. This is entirely due to the viewpoint and stand of the people concerned.

The viewpoint and attitude towards the world thus constitute an important problem of principle in the world outlook. Therefore, if philosophy is to provide a correct world outlook, it should never fail to treat the viewpoint and attitude towards the world as an independent question, along with the view on the world, and give a correct answer to it.

The class character of a world outlook, that is, who this outlook serves, is more clearly expressed in the viewpoint and attitude towards the world rather than in the view on the world.

Take an example. A certain world outlook holds that the world has been made by some mysterious "being" and so moves according to the principles laid down by this mysterious "being". Here, however, who this view serves is not so clear. But this world outlook deduces, from the view that the world has been made by a certain mysterious "being" and moves

according to the principles laid down by it, the viewpoint and stand that man should endure all afflictions and miseries he suffers in this world because his destiny has been fixed by the mysterious "being". This means in the final analysis that people should bear instead of resisting whether they are exploited or humiliated. Now it is clear that this world outlook patronizes reactionary rulers and speaks for their interests.

Today many bourgeois philosophers say that they do not recognize any mysterious "being".

Take another example. Some people say that "the human is a being bound for death". This is, of course, an assertion advanced by human philosophy which simply deals with the problem of human beings, the problem of human life Anyhow, be that as it may, we cannot tell clearly who this view on human life serves Now the philosophers who say so derive from this view the standpoint and attitude towards human life that "So the revolution and suchlike are all rubbish and the best thing for men to do is to live only for the pleasure of the moment" It now becomes quite clear that the viewpoint and stand are meant to paralyze the revolutionary consciousness of the people and defend the corrupt capitalist system

This is why when someone says that the world has been made by a certain mysterious "being" and moves according to its will or that "the human is nothing but a being bound for death", they will tolerate it with a remark that "Don't talk nonsense, that's all unscientific." But when someone says that "Even if anyone exploits, oppresses or humiliates you, endure it" or that "Use your head as to how you will enjoy momentary pleasure instead of taking the trouble of making revolution", people will probably lunge at him saying, "So you tell us to remain submissive even when we are reduced to colonial slaves. What do you think we are? And whose side are you on?"

As is clear from this, the question of viewpoint and attitude towards the world is a very important and serious question because it shows the orientation and principle of action of people Strictly speaking, the view on the world can be regarded as prerequisite for elucidating the viewpoint and attitude towards the world.

Therefore, in order to establish a correct world outlook, it is always

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necessary to have a correct viewpoint and attitude towards the world, along with the right view on it. Even if one has a correct view on the world, he cannot properly understand and transform the world if he lacks the right viewpoint and attitude towards it.

How did the former world outlook solve this problem?

Like the view on the world, the viewpoint and attitude towards it, too, have changed with the march of history. I cannot dwell on it in full detail here, and need not do so, either. I will only mention one or two points for the readers' information.

Mention must be made in advance of the fact that the former philosophies did not treat the viewpoint and attitude towards the world as a separate item. Therefore, the views of the former philosophies on the viewpoint and attitude towards the world we are now going to study are no more than a result of summing up, analysing and reasoning various views of preceding philosophers.

We have already mentioned the viewpoint and stand advocated by the world outlook which proceeds from the premise that the world has been made by a certain mysterious "being". Among the idealistic world outlooks there is one which proceeds from the assumption that a certain "absolute spirit" created the world. This, too, is essentially the same with the aforesaid. It holds that because all things of the world are products of the "absolute spirit", man has no alternative but to submit to the fate ordained by this spirit, and thus it vindicates the reactionary ruling system. In short, all objective idealistic world outlooks maintain that the poor should not try to improve their lot, because they have no choice but to live as ordained by the fate.

Some of previous philosophies stressed the emotional and volitional attitude of men towards the world. In a word, such philosophies put the main stress on the emotion and will of men in approaching the world. At first thought, it may seem that great importance has been attached to man, but, in reality, this is not so. The emotional and volitional attitude advocated by these philosophies is divorced from the objective material world. In other words, no matter what the law governing the objective material world may be, all one has to do is to approach the world and act as dictated by his subjective emotion and will. This has proceeded from the

idealistic view that the emotion and will of men are absolutely free independent of the objective world.

Therefore, attaching great importance to the emotional and volitional attitude means, after all, that a man should not be restrained whatever he may do because it is a manifestation of his absolutely free emotion and will. Then, even if the imperialists invade and plunder other countries and oppress and exploit the people, this is all according to their absolutely free will and so is justified Herein lies the reactionary essence of the viewpoint that the emotional and volitional attitude of man should be given great importance.

In the long run, this viewpoint is aimed at covering up the reactionary character of exploiter society and justifying all inhuman and immoral goings-on in this society.

The philosophical world outlook of Marxism overcame the erroneous viewpoint and stand advanced by the former unscientific world outlooks and put forward the viewpoint and stand of seeing the world as it is. In other words, it says that since the world is material as a whole and changes and develops according to a definite law of its own accord, one should face the world as it is and act from the viewpoint that the world consists of matter and constantly moves and changes. In other words, one should act in accordance with the laws governing the objective material world.

So we can say that in Marxist philosophy the view on the world and the viewpoint and attitude towards it are not divided in content.

Needless to say, it is right to see the world as it is and act in accordance with its laws. When one does not view the world as it is and act in conformity with its laws, he may commit subjective errors and, accordingly, cannot avoid failure in cognition and practice.

To see the world as it is and act in accordance with its laws is in full accord with the interests of the masses of the people. It is that the masses must uninterruptedly reshape the world as they wish so as to carve out their destiny; this requires seeing the world as it is and acting in accordance with the laws governing its change and development.

Undoubtedly, the reactionary exploiting classes, too, are often interested in viewing and approaching things as they are as far as

individual natural phenomena are concerned. The reason is that they should grasp natural phenomena as they are and act in accordance with the laws governing them in order to produce goods and make money. There is no need to say that such view and attitude towards natural phenomena do not express their world outlook.

But the masses of the people and the reactionary exploiting classes are sharply divided in their attitude towards social phenomena. The masses are also interested in viewing and facing social phenomena as they are, but the reactionary exploiting classes are not.

For example, imperialism is bound to go under and this is an invariable, objective truth. The popular masses have interests in the view that the fall of imperialism is inevitable. But the imperialists are desperately against this view. The reason is that for the imperialists the fall of imperialism means their ruin, whereas for the popular masses it means their liberation. The masses of the people always take the side of truth, and so they need not distort the realities but are interested in seeing them as they are. It is always the reactionary rulers who distort the realities, afraid of facing up to them.

In elucidating the viewpoint and attitude of seeing and facing the world as it is, the Marxist philosophical world outlook has become a world outlook which represents the fundamental interests of the masses.

The Juche idea has advanced a new viewpoint and stand of approaching the world with man as the central factor.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The Juche idea shows a new viewpoint and attitude to the world, on the basis of man's position and role as master of the world.

"The viewpoint and attitude to the world shown by the Juche idea are those with which the world is approached by focussing on man, the master of the world." (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

The viewpoint and attitude to the world shown by the Juche idea are those of approaching the world always placing man in the centre of thinking and action proceeding from the viewpoint that man is the master and reformer of the world.

We have already said that our world is dominated, changed and developed by man. The Juche-based viewpoint and stand that require

thinking and acting by focussing on man are in full accord with the laws governing the objective material world.

Because man is the master of the world and the world is changed and developed by his decisive role, we should naturally think and act by placing man in the centre in approaching the world.

Such viewpoint and attitude make the cognitive and practical activities to transform the world serve both in name and reality the interests of man and the purpose of carving out his destiny.

This means that the viewpoint and attitude to the world expounded by the Juche idea serve as a powerful weapon for the masses to work out their destiny independently and creatively

Now let us study what are the viewpoint and attitude towards the world explained by the Juche idea

The Blasted High-Frequency Electric Furnace

The contents of the viewpoint and attitude to the world shown by the Juche idea have two aspects One of them proceeds from the interests of man.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out.

"Taking a man-centred attitude towards the world means approaching the world from the viewpoint of interests of man, the master of the world." (*Ibid*, p 12.)

To proceed from the interests of man means that in whatever work our first consideration should be whether it is in the interests of man or not.

Some people may question how can there be a human enterprise which is harmful to man? But this question is wrong.

Here is a historical fact which explains what the viewpoint and stand of proceeding from the interests of man are.

Before the liberation of the country there was a high-frequency electric furnace the Japanese imperialists had built in a small town in the northern part of Korea. Blinded by money-making and war preparation, they did not provide the furnace with safety-devices. But the workers who

could get no other job had to toil there although they knew full well that the slightest slip would take their lives. Thus, many workers were killed by an electric shock. This factory was indeed a target of hatred and resentment of Korean workers.

What does this fact show us?

It shows that not all human enterprises benefit people and, worse still, sometimes they will bring immeasurable disasters to them.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who had defeated Japanese imperialism and returned home triumphantly was informed of this dreadful furnace and gave instructions to blow it up.

Our backward colonial, semi-feudal country took the first step for building a new society immediately after liberation. The readers may fully guess that at that time even one ton of structural steel was very precious to the country. The output of steel is a major index of the economic power of a given country. Nothing can be done without steel. The workers of the factory were well aware of the situation of the country and proposed to keep the furnace in operation as ever for the building of the new country at the risk of their own lives. This was a manifestation of their ardent patriotism as masters of the country now.

However, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said that however precious steel might be, the lives of workers could not be bartered for it and steel produced that way was not wanted, and instructed them to blow up the furnace. Thus, the furnace was blasted at a time when even one ton of structural steel was treasured like so much because the whole nation was rehabilitating the destroyed economy with tightened belts to extricate itself from the centuries-old backwardness and poverty.

Blasting of the high-frequency electric furnace was indeed a brilliant manifestation of the Juche viewpoint and stand which proceeded from the interests of man.

Then what are the contents of the Juche viewpoint and attitude?

Facing the world from the viewpoint of interests of man means that in his approach towards all things and phenomena of the world, one studies and transforms them from the viewpoint of if they are useful or harmful to man, how to turn the harmful into the useful, and how to make the useful ever more profitable to man.

This Juche viewpoint and attitude contain two contents: one of them is to set the goal of cognitive and transforming activities from the viewpoint of human interests, and the other is to evaluate all things by the yardstick of whether they are useful or harmful to man and, if useful, how much.

When we undertake something, we should always aim to give some benefit to men. In other words, the cognitive and practical activities should always be aimed at realizing the Chajusong of man.

As shown by the Juche philosophical principle, man is the master of everything. Therefore, all our cognitive and practical activities should serve man and the end of realizing his Chajusong.

Originally all activities of man are aimed at realizing his Chajusong. Man's labour to conquer nature aims to ensure him an independent life free from the fetters of nature and his revolutionary activity for the transformation of society aims to ensure him an independent life befitting a dignified social creature. All human activities are geared to the end of securing Chajusong which is the life and soul of man. All our cognitive and practical activities are aimed at realizing the Chajusong of man because this is an imperative demand of people for independence and is in full accord with this demand.

Sometimes a question may arise. why are there people who act against human beings when all activities of men are aimed to achieve their Chajusong?

That all human activities are aimed at the achievement of Chajusong does not mean that the activity of every individual is for Chajusong. By nature human activity must be aimed at attaining man's Chajusong, but in many cases it is not. This is why we are discussing the viewpoint and stand which men should take.

Although every activity of man should be aimed at the realization of his Chajusong, individuals proceed from their own interests in approaching something. There can be no man in the world who carries on activities to study and remodel something in which he is not interested at all.

The interests of people differ with their social positions. Different conditions of people give rise to different interests and, accordingly, different viewpoints and attitudes towards things and phenomena.

Human consciousness is not merely a reproduction of the material world as a mirror reflects our faces. Rather it reflects the material world in the interests of man. Therefore, people differ in opinion even as to the same thing, hence different attitudes. When some people see something, they think of how to use it for the public benefit, others—for the purpose of money-making, and war maniacs—for the benefit of war ends.

People often say that science has no class character and is in the service of all mankind. Proceeding from this viewpoint, some scientists say that they have nothing to do with politics. As for natural science, we can undoubtedly say that it has no class character.

What kind of class character can Archimedes' principle and the Pythagorean theorem claim to have? But when speaking of the purpose of scientific study, we must say that it has also a class character.

Take nuclear physics for example. It is doubtlessly beneficial to man to discover and use the laws of motion of atoms. But unfortunately, the persevering studies of people to find out these laws led to the manufacture of atomic bombs first, before the building of atomic power stations. At the suggestion of Einstein, Roosevelt, former US President, marshalled numerous scholars and furnished a huge amount of funds—two billion dollars—to make atomic bombs. And the Japanese people were the first victim of these bombs. The culprits who produced atomic bombs said that they did so to crush the Japanese fascists and bring peace to the world. But who will believe this, considering that the bombs fell on the heads of peaceful inhabitants, and this when the Japanese fascists were gasping their last under the impact of the struggle of the revolutionary people of the world? The United States made the first test of atomic bomb on July 16, 1945, only one month before the unconditional surrender of Japan. When the report about the test came, US President Truman who was then attending the Potsdam Conference was highly delighted and expressed his intention to pursue a foreign policy of atomic blackmail. This is no secret.

The US hastily dropped atomic bombs on the heads of innocent inhabitants not for world peace but for backing up its foreign policy with strength to bring the world under its domination after the Second World War. Those who had an opportunity of reading the report of investigation of damage done by the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, must

be well aware what great sufferings science spelled for humanity instead of serving it

As you know, it is said that the Nobel prizes are awarded to those who made worthy scientific inventions for humanity or contributed to the cause of peace. The story runs that Nobel, a Swedish who invented explosives and amassed an immense fortune, wanted his inventions to bring well-being to humanity, but, seeing the results of his research work used in war to kill large numbers of people, lamented it and willed that the bulk of his fortune be used for establishing prizes to be awarded to people who would contribute to the well-being of humanity

Many persons received the prizes, but we are compelled to take issue with the use of so many scientific inventions made by the winners of the prizes Nuclear physicists were showered with praises and bouquets of flowers for their great inventions But their achievements in research work were employed to destroy hundreds of thousands of human lives. What surprised people was the fact that a Nobel peace prize was given to Marshall who had been US Army Chief of Staff when an atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima If Nobel had left his last wish truly upon his humanistic conscience, he would perhaps wail underground Of course, this is not to say that the results of nuclear researches are used only as means of war or that nuclear physicists are to blame for the use of their achievements for the war purpose What I would like to say here is that the viewpoint and stand of people decide the aims of human activity.

The dropping of atomic bombs is a thing which took place nearly 40 years ago. And no end of instances can be cited to show that not all human activities today have the good of man in view. According to a certain publication, nearly 500 billion dollars are spent every year for military ends throughout the world. This means that one million dollars are used every minute. Nevertheless, there are hundreds of millions of people in the world who are starving without a penny. The yearly expenditure of the World Health Organization for extirpating smallpox is below the cost of one up-to-date bomber. The imperialists are aggravating the situation or making troubles everywhere in the world so as to sell weapons to backward countries at preposterous prices.

Even now the precious fruits of human labour are used not for the

benefit of people but to torment and, worse still, to kill them. This is due to the manoeuvrings of the imperialists to dominate and plunder the people.

As mentioned above, not all activities of man, though originally intended for the realization of his Chajusong, are geared to this aim because the class interests of individuals differ from each other. So, the viewpoint and attitude to the world constitute an important content of the world outlook.

If we want all our activities to serve the people, we must always subordinate our activities to the purpose of achieving the Chajusong of the masses and unswervingly fight against all kinds of viewpoints and attitudes contrary to this.

Another content of the Juche viewpoint and stand is to evaluate everything in the light of human interests. In other words, the worth of all things and phenomena should be measured by the standard of whether they are beneficial to man or not, and if they are, how much.

Such viewpoint and stand proceed from the principle that man is the master of everything.

As elucidated by the Juche idea, *man, the master of everything,* is the most precious of all beings. Nothing in the world is more precious than man. Therefore, what is most precious in the world are the interests of man. This means that all things and phenomena are worthy only when they serve man.

What determines the disparity between the values of stone implements of the primitive ages and modern machines? It is determined in all cases by how useful they are to man. Apart from the problem of how serviceable they are to man, stone implements will be different from modern machines only in their quality, structure and form. If there is no difference between them in their service to men, it does not matter whether they are made of stone or iron, and whether their structure is simple or complex. Stone implements will be rather better because they can be easily made with stones available everywhere. The incomparably greater worth of modern machinery than stone implements derives from its greater serviceability to man.

There are quite a few things in the world which are not worth a farthing although they cost people much trouble to make. In the capital of

a European country there is a "colossal" amusement centre. Every day all sorts of follies are enacted there. Certain people of that country boasted of the extravagant amusement centre as being the best in the world. This shows that there is a great disparity between people's senses of value. What is the worth of the amusement centre which depraves people into animal-like men?

This sense of value stems from the bourgeois world outlook according to which everything is evaluated by money rather than from the viewpoint of its use to men.

In capitalist society where even the personality of men is reduced to an exchange value, people who are blinded by mercenary lust measure the worth of everything by money The longer the life span of an electric lamp is, the more useful it is to man and the greater value it has But after Edison had invented the electric lamp of practical use in 1879, it is said, the General Electric Company which monopolized its production gained a net profit of 65-88 per cent until 1939 by shortening its life span To the monopolists a short-lived electric lamp is more profitable than a long-lived one.

Countless are instances in which the bourgeois viewpoint of measuring the value of everything by money prevents precious scientific achievements from being introduced into production. It is not an accident that Marie Curie who dedicated her whole life to science for the happiness of humanity said that a strong desire for luxury and money-making was prevalent in our society but the worth of science was not appreciated.

In imperialist countries today not only goods but also men are evaluated by money. A writer once satirized the rich in a lampoon. When a young daughter of a millionaire met her newlywed friend, she asked: "How much money did you marry?" Her friend replied· "Hum, 50 million dollars." The writer by no means exaggerated the truth simply to make people laugh; in corrupt and morbid capitalist society people not infrequently choose a match for money rather than for the person.

Not long after capital appeared in the world Shakespeare wrote:

Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold!

Thus much of this, will make black white; foul, fair;
Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant
...
...place thieves,
And give them title, knee and approbation.

Some bourgeois philosophers maintain that value does not exist objectively but is decided by the subjective wishes of men. In other words, this is to say that when people see something and speak of its value, they do so not because it really has any value but because they think it has. Possibly, some people may regard this as judging the value of things by focussing on man. But they are mistaken.

The value of things is decided on no account by the subjective will of men. Separated from themselves, their value is unthinkable. The view that the value of things is determined entirely by the subjective opinions of men is unscientific and, strictly speaking, is an expression of the bourgeois view that anything that brings grist to the mill has value.

This is aimed at camouflaging under the specious name of "philosophy" the inhuman, reactionary doings of the monopolists who make money by developing pollutional industries at random in disregard of the future of mankind and the warmongers who rake in stupendous amounts of money by traffic in arms without caring if people are killed or not.

The yardstick of the value of things and phenomena lies in human interests. All things of the world are worthy so long as they serve man. Things and phenomena not needed for and inimical to the realization of human interests are worthless. The value of things and phenomena can be measured most correctly only by the yardstick of interests of man who is the independent, creative and conscious social being.

The viewpoint and stand of the Juche world outlook based on the interests of man are in full accord with the law governing the objective material world where man holds the position of master.

As stated previously, ours is a world which is dominated, transformed and developed by man. The world is reshaped and developed according to the independent demand of man and in such a way as his

Chajusong is realized more fully. This is an objective law nobody can transgress

By placing everything in the service of man with a view to realizing his Chajusong, the Juche viewpoint and stand based on human interests ensure that all our cognitive and practical activities accord with this law of the objective material world and accelerate the process of transformation of the world.

Herein lie the validity and indestructible might of the Juche viewpoint and stand

Before passing to the next section, I would like to make a remark on the blasted high-frequency electric furnace.

How did the building of a new country in Korea go on after the furnace had been blown up? Probably was it delayed for want of steel?

No, it was not The workers saw the greatness of the Juche idea in the blasting of the furnace and deeply appreciated the blessing of the new system which embodied this idea. With the high consciousness that they were the masters of the building of a new society, they worked with all their heart and mind and strength. They built a blast furnace incomparably greater than the high-frequency electric furnace on their own and turned out molten iron There was a south Korean politician who was a stiff-necked nationalist and had nursed a wrong idea of the popular policy pursued in north Korea Later, when he visited north Korea and saw this fact, he said that all policies in north Korea were correct and in the interests of the people. If he had known this, he would have not opposed communism, he continued, adding that he would fight to the best of his ability upholding the policy of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The viewpoint and stand based on the interests of men made the people display such great strength because they agreed with their aspirations

The Secret of the Grand March of Chollima

Another aspect of the viewpoint and stand clarified by the Juche

world outlook is to face the change and development of the world mainly from the angle of human activity.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"Approaching the world by focussing on man means dealing with the change and development of the world mainly on the basis of the activity of man who transforms it." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

Before going into an abstract discussion about this proposition, I would like to mention a fact, which will help understand the profound meaning of the proposition.

On the occasion of the 70th birthday of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the brilliant commander of the great anti-Japanese war, the majestic and magnificent Arch of Triumph was erected in Pyongyang, the capital city, in commemoration of his triumphal return home, which expresses the respect of the entire Korean people for him. From the Arch of Triumph one can see the Chollima Statue towering high on Mansu Hill. Seen beyond the luxuriant flowering trees lining the broad sloping road in the spring, the Chollima Statue seems to fly over flowery clouds.

Chollima is a winged horse covering 1,000 *ri* a day. The Chollima Statue symbolizes the spirits of Korea advancing as fast as to conquer a distance in a year which would ordinarily take ten years to cover. It is an artistic illustration of the viewpoint and stand of approaching the change and development of the world mainly on the basis of the activity of man.

It was 1956. The Three-Year Plan for the rehabilitation of the war-damaged economy was nearing completion. Under the wise guidance of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung our people made great creative efforts, so that the ravaged economy was rehabilitated to the prewar level in only three years. As a result, in 1957 our country embarked on the First Five-Year Plan for building the foundation of socialism.

But difficulties were manifold. Although the economy reached the prewar level, we were short of materials, funds and everything to lay the foundation of socialist industrialization in our once backward colonial semifeudal country. What was worse, the US imperialists and their cat's paws clamoured for a "northward expedition" and gave themselves to provocations against the Republic every day. Taking advantage of the fix the country was in, the counter-revolutionary factionalists addicted to

flunkeyism and dogmatism came out against the Party at home. What could be the key to settle the difficult situation and bring about a great upsurge of socialist construction?

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who always believes in the strength of the people and channels their energies into the revolution and construction called on the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant and explained to them the grave situation prevailing in the country. He said in an earnest tone: "We are hard pressed today. But we must not get disheartened and yield to the grave difficulties lying before our revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

"Our Party trusts the working class, the main force of the revolution, and is pinning its hopes on you. In order to tide over the difficulties facing us, you must brace yourselves up to produce in plenty and construct well. Only then, is it possible to check and frustrate the 'march north' racket of the US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique, facilitate the cause of the peaceful reunification of the country, and make fresh progress in the socialist revolution and building of socialism....

"The December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee called upon the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant to produce 10,000 tons more of steel next year than planned. If you do this, it will greatly help the country."

In response to the call of the great leader, the workers of Kangson rose to justify his profound trust and expectation. They resolved to turn out 90,000 tons of products in a blooming mill which had only a capacity of 60,000 tons. Then they actually produced 120,000 tons.

The flames of great upsurge lighted by the respected leader among the steel-makers of Kangson spread like wildfire across the country. This was how the Chollima Movement started in our country. Amid the furious flames of the Chollima Movement, a small farm implement factory came to produce tractors and other factories built trucks, excavators and big cargo ships, in spite of all difficulties. Our people thus crushed all obstructive moves of the enemies at home and abroad and carried out the First Five-Year Plan with credit, laying the firm foundation for socialist industrialization.

It can be said that the Chollima Movement, the general line of

socialist construction in our country, is a brilliant manifestation of the viewpoint and stand of approaching the world mainly on the basis of human activity.

What, then, does it mean to deal with the change and development of the world mainly on the basis of the activity of man?

It means that one regards the strength of man as the basic factor in all activities to recognize and reshape the world and always solves problems by heightening his role. In plain words, one should give primary consideration to men before such material conditions as machinery and equipment and put the main stress on bringing out their enthusiasm and creative initiatives in all work.

Why, then, should we put the main stress on the activity of man in recognizing and transforming the world?

It is first because man is the most powerful being in the world and the decisive factor in reshaping the world.

A special product of development of the material world, man has the qualities of Chajusong, creativity and consciousness. He has the creative ability to recognize and transform the world in his own interests. Through his independent, creative and conscious activities man subordinates to himself the process of change and development of the world. Man is the only being in this world capable of recognizing and transforming the world.

It is true that various material means are employed by men in recognizing and transforming the world. The deeper the activities of man for recognition and transformation become, the greater role these material means play. In order to penetrate the secrets of nature, natural science uses various complex laboratory equipment such as gauges, electric apparatuses, electronic devices, and the like. Only by their use can people find out the true nature and laws of motion of natural phenomena which are invisible, inaudible and impalpable. The same is the case with the activity to remake nature. It is needless to say that nature-remaking projects such as reclaiming seas and removing mountains are impossible without automobiles, excavators, bulldozers, dredgers and other modern equipment. Even in olden times, at least

spinning wheels and looms were needed to weave cloth with cotton. So, today it is totally impossible to make fibre from stone or crude oil and weave cloth without any equipment.

But this does not mean that material means are of greater importance *than men in recognizing* and transforming the world.

As aforesaid, seeing modern machinery and equipment do much work in place of men, some people are raising the alarm as if human race were "at stake", they think that human beings have become an appendage and slave to machinery. We can admit that people have become an appendage of machinery when we think of the fact that modern machines are not used for the independent and creative life of people but used as means of straining their labour to the extremes, deforming their bodies and grinding them down as in capitalist society. But it is a gross mistake to attribute these phenomena to modern machinery itself If modern machinery and equipment make a fool of man and bring a crisis to humanity, why should he make them?

In relation to nature the Chajusong, creativity and consciousness of man are strikingly manifested in the fact that he turns out labour instruments. Accordingly, the development of science and technology means that the Chajusong, creativity and consciousness of man have risen that much higher and that his power to conquer nature has grown that much greater.

When we say that the viewpoint and attitude to the world clarified by the world outlook of Juche should be based mainly on the activity of man, this does not mean that machinery and equipment are not necessary or their role can be disregarded Material means play an important role in recognizing and transforming the world, and in the future this role will increase further.

But whatever great role material means may play in recognizing and reshaping the world, this cannot take the place of the decisive role of man It is because material means are made by man and for man. Machinery and equipment, however modern, cannot be operated or play any role without men The electronic computer calculates in a flash what a man cannot reckon all his life with paper and pencil. But if it is not controlled by man, it is no better than a mass of iron.

And it is man that has so devised the electronic computer as to do such complex calculations.

In order to recognize and reshape the world people make necessary material and technical means and use them in a rational way. In this sense we can say that material means are an extension of the creative power of man and devices which supplement his role.

The role of material means depends on man and is entirely subordinated to his role.

The roles of man and material means are not separated from and opposed to each other. Therefore, these roles are not in inverse but in direct proportion.

In short, it is man that plays the decisive role in recognizing and transforming the world. So, in everything we should have the viewpoint and stand of approaching the world mainly on the basis of human activity.

There is another reason why we should approach the change and development of the world by attaching the primary importance to the activity of man.

It is that man demands the transformation of the world and realizes it.

The phenomena of recognition and transformation started with the appearance of human beings on the earth. Of course, these phenomena presuppose the objective material world. From this standpoint one can say that the objective material world together with man is a factor giving cause to the phenomena of recognition and transformation.

Just as the phenomena of recognition and transformation are unthinkable without man, so they are impossible without the objective material world. In this context, the subject is always man and the surrounding world is an external object of recognition and transformation.

Human activity to recognize and transform the things of the surrounding world is motivated by the desire of man to live independently in control of the surrounding world. Through this activity, he discovers the objective laws operating in the surrounding world and, regulating and controlling them in keeping with his wishes, transforms things to meet his own needs. Thus, people dam up rivers to produce electricity by using

waterpower, turn biological laws to account to convert wild plants into cultivable ones and then improve them to obtain high-yielding varieties.

As aforesaid, the phenomena of recognition and transformation occur according to the requirement of man and are realized by him. This means that the subject of cognitive and transforming activities is not the objective material world but man.

Therefore, whatever work is done should be based on the activity of man, the subject of cognition and transformation. Only then is it possible to conduct cognitive and transforming activities in keeping with the desire of man and hasten the process of transformation of the world by mobilizing his creative power.

To return for a while to the subject of the Chollima Movement.

If in such a difficult postwar period only material conditions had been reckoned with in disregard of people in Korea, the great upsurge of socialist construction would never have been brought about.

Machinery and equipment cannot drop from the skies and no one will give us them for nothing. So, there is no alternative but to use the existing machinery and equipment. However much you calculate the nominal capacities of machinery and equipment without regard to men, it will produce no miracle. At that time miracles were wrought in our country because the activity of men was regarded as the main factor and their infinite creative power was brought out to the full.

Deeply conscious that they were the masters of the country, the popular masses displayed high revolutionary zeal and initiative in their work, so that production was increased two or three times with the same machines. Machinery and equipment were improved further and new machines were contrived.

The Kangson Steel Plant where the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung kindled the first flames of the Chollima Movement has now been turned into a modern metallurgical giant and a small farm implement factory where workers had made tractors by hammering and polishing by hand, has been converted into an automated tractor plant which now produces tens of thousand tractors of various types every year.

After the war when our people took up the first spade for reconstruction, a certain US statesman said swaggeringly that Korea

would not be able to rise to her feet again in 100 years' time.

In the three-year-long war our towns and countryside were reduced literally to ashes due to the barbarous burn-all tactics of US imperialism. About 430,000 bombs were dropped on Pyongyang, a city of 400,000 population at the time. This alone will suffice to show what a great damage the war caused. Such a fact probably encouraged the US statesman to make the silly remark. But accustomed to judging everything by money and goods, he failed to see men—the Korean people who had become the true masters of the state and society.

Although the whole land had been razed to the ground, there were men, the most dignified and powerful beings—the Korean people who race ahead in an indomitable fighting spirit, undaunted by any difficulty, taking ten steps, a hundred steps forward while others take one, in order not to lag behind. As a result, Korea regained its footing in only three years rather than 100 years and then carried out in 14 short years the historical task of industrialization which had taken Western capitalist countries one or two centuries to accomplish.

If anyone should ask what is the secret of the world-shaking success achieved in so short a time on the war debris, we can answer with confidence: it lies in the Juche viewpoint and stand of approaching the world mainly on the basis of the activity of man.

The viewpoint and stand based on the activity of man are a powerful weapon for hastening the process of transformation of the world at an unprecedented rate by bringing his creative power into full play.

III. THE JUCHE IDEA ELUCIDATES NEW SOCIO-HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES

The Juche idea elucidates new socio-historical principles in addition to new philosophical principles

While the philosophical principles of Juche give answers to the questions as to what is the world we live in as a whole without drawing a dividing line between nature and society, how it changes and develops, and what are the viewpoint and stand from which to approach it, its socio-historical principles explain the questions of what is the historical cause of change and development of society which is a part of the world, and what is needed to advance history and develop society In short, the philosophical principles represent a world outlook which clarifies the view, viewpoint and attitude to the world, whereas the socio-historical principles constitute a socio-historical outlook which gives a view, viewpoint and attitude to social history.

Needless to say, society is also a part of the world, so the socio-historical principles can be included in the world outlook in a broad sense of the terms. But society is a specific part of the material world. And society has its inherent laws in addition to the general laws governing the material world. This is why the socio-historical problems are treated separately in the Juche idea.

Like the world outlook of Juche, its socio-historical principles are based on a new philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything.

While the world outlook of Juche is a new man-centred one based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, the Juche socio-historical principles represent a new socio-historical view elucidated with the popular masses as the central factor on the basis of this philosophical principle. This is exactly why these socio-historical principles constitute an entirely scientific and original socio-historical view.

The socio-historical principles of Juche consist of four important principles which answer the questions as to what is the main agency of the socio-historical movement, what is the essence of this movement, what is its nature, and what is the force propelling it.

This means that the socio-historical principles of Juche throw full light on all questions relating to the scientific understanding of the laws of development of social history. So one only needs to know the principles clarified by the socio-historical principles in order to gain a full understanding of the laws of development of social history.

Mention must be made of the one fact that since the socio-historical principles of Juche have shed a new light on the laws of development of social history according to the new philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, it will not do to try to understand those principles according to some old established pattern.

The readers versed in the hitherto-prevalent philosophies will come across familiar terms in the process of studying the socio-historical principles of Juche. But the same terms do not always have the same meaning. Therefore, the terminological identity should not be confounded with the conceptual sameness. A new idea can be correctly construed only when it is approached from a new angle.

Now let me pass to the study of the socio-historical principles enunciated by the Juche idea.

1. THE POPULAR MASSES ARE THE SUBJECT OF SOCIAL HISTORY

It is essential first to know what is the subject of history in order to *gain a scientific understanding of how society develops and how history* advances.

The question of what is the main agency of history comes down to the question of the cause and motive force of the socio-historical movement. A correct explanation of this question is prerequisite for the correct elucidation of all other questions arising in understanding the laws of development of social history, that is, the questions of what is the socio-historical movement, how it develops and what is its driving force.

Therefore, the principle that the popular masses are the main agency of social history is the most fundamental and elementary principle in the socio-historical principles of Juche.

The major substances of this principle are only the popular masses are the main agency of history, yet their position and role as the main agency of history are not the same in all times and in all societies, a correct leadership is indispensable for them to be truly the main agency of history.

1) WHY THE POPULAR MASSES ARE THE SUBJECT OF SOCIAL HISTORY?

A Radical Change in the View on Social History

Man lives not only in nature but also in society. Society provides

social conditions for human subsistence. From remote antiquity people argued a great deal about the questions of what is society, whether it changes and develops or not, and if it does, what is the cause and how.

Society is very complex and so the social phenomena are more difficult to understand than the natural phenomena. Seeing grain crops parched up in drought, everyone can attribute its cause to the shortage of moisture. But it is not easy to find out the causes of the phenomena occurring in social life. Suppose you readers travel to some two countries where you are strangers. However closely you may observe moving about the streets, you will hardly be able to tell what is the fundamental difference of the two societies by their external appearance. Of course, you can see with your own eyes whether the stores are well stocked with goods or not and whether the streets are crowded with cars or not and so can tell their difference at once. But this kind of difference does not immediately signify the fundamental difference between their societies. In order to know the fundamental difference between the societies of the two countries, one must examine their political and economic institutions, but these institutions are not apparent outwardly.

After all, social phenomena are more difficult to discern their true nature than natural phenomena. Moreover, the interests of people are more directly and sharply reflected in their view on society than on nature.

Many philosophers of the past time who interpreted natural phenomena materialistically explained social phenomena idealistically. Socially, most of them were exploiters or stood by them. Even today there are people among natural scientists such as physicists, chemists and biologists who take an entirely unscientific stand in regard to society.

Thus, since social phenomena are by nature complicated and, furthermore, sharply mirror the social and class positions of people, the question of why and how social history develops remained a highly controversial problem in philosophy.

What, then, were the views of the old-time philosophers on socio-historical phenomena? I can hardly cover all their multitudinous views, and so would like to deal briefly with only some of them.

Certain people say that society does not change and develop but is

immutable. Not only people of the remote antiquity but even some of our contemporaries say so

According to them, the various social systems which have existed in history have no difference at all in their levels of development.

Some others allege that human society had changed and developed until it came to capitalist society, but after that it does not because it is perfected in capitalist society

Essentially, this view is tantamount to denying the change and development of society It has an ill-concealed intention to eulogize the capitalist system and preach its "eternal nature".

It goes without saying that these views negating the change and development of society are unscientific and conflict with facts

Even in agreeing to the change and development of social history, people's views are not the same Where, then, do their differences lie? In short, they lie in the question as to what is the cause and motive force of the change and development of history. In other words, it boils down to the question of how to view the inevitability of historical progress

The fundamental difference between the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea and all the socio-historical outlooks of the past, too, finds a concentrated expression here

Certain people say that history is changed and developed by some mysterious "being" It may be said that this kind of view on social history has stemmed from the world outlook that the world was created by some mysterious "being" and moves in accordance with the principles fixed by it. As it is absurd to say that some mystical "being" created the world, so it is nonsense to allege that it makes history How can a non-existent "being" ever create history?

Some other people pronounce that history is made by "distinguished personalities" such as emperors, generals and rulers According to them, the digestive disorder of a king or the caprice of a queen can provide sufficient cause for events like a war. In the past a philosopher said that if Cleopatra's nose had been a little lower, the history of the world might have been different. This was said in allusion to the fact that Antonius, triumvir of ancient Rome, fell a victim to the charms of Cleopatra and, forming an amorous intimacy with her, disposed of the eastern provinces

of Rome in her favour. It is of course an exaggeration of Cleopatra's great charms, but what underlies it is an idealistic view on history that sees the cause of historical progress in the disposition, appearance and tastes of individuals.

The view that history is made fortuitously in this or that way, independent of any objective laws, according to the intentions, moods and tastes of individuals, has a thread of connection with the idealistic view that the world is a product of human consciousness. This is unscientific beyond dispute.

If history can be made in this or that way by sheer chance independently of any laws, how is it that many countries in the east and the west have arrived at the present state through the similar stages of social development? Is this entirely a casual coincidence? No, we cannot say so.

Development of social history is governed by definite laws and inexorable historical necessity, although every country has its own national peculiarity. The views that social history is a product of chance factors are, in the final analysis, motivated by the ulterior object of the reactionary rulers to check the struggle of the people for remodelling society to suit their independent demands in accordance with the laws of historical development.

Marxism was the first to overcome the unscientific nature of all the previous socio-historical outlooks and give a materialistic dialectical explanation of the socio-historical processes.

By applying materialistic dialectic to the realm of social history, Marxism established the materialistic conception of history. It can be summarized as follows:

As matter determines consciousness, social being determines social consciousness. So, according as the productive forces of society develop, the relations of production change, and with this change in the foundation of society, its superstructure (politics, thinking, morals, and so on) undergoes a change. Through these processes the old society develops into a new one. The founders of Marxism said by way of illustration that from the millstone came feudal society and machinery gave rise to capitalist society.

It follows from this that the material conditions of social life or, to be more exact, the mode of production of material wealth (meaning the productive forces and production relations put together) is the decisive factor in the development of social history.

To the founders of Marxism belongs the great credit of criticizing all the idealistic and metaphysical socio-historical outlooks of the past and propounding the materialistic conception of history.

How, then, do the socio-historical principles of Juche view the laws of social progress?

These principles shed a new light on the law-governed processes of development of social history with the masses as the central factor.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said·

"History develops through the struggle of the masses to transform nature and society. That history develops precisely means that the position and role of the masses as the subject of history are enhanced." (*Ibid*, p 15)

This proposition clarifies what the decisive factor of development of social history is

The popular masses precisely denote the community of people of whom Chajusong is the life and soul. This is why they continuously struggle for Chajusong.

The masses of people conquer nature in order to achieve their Chajusong, and in case the existing social system restrains their Chajusong, they wage a struggle to remodel it Chajusong is an intrinsic requirement of the popular masses and so it is inevitable for them to struggle for it.

Moreover, the masses have creative ability to transform nature and society to attain their Chajusong

In the final analysis, history develops through the agency of the masses' independent requirements and creative role The material conditions of social life are no more than the objective conditions of the struggle for Chajusong. Of course, the independent requirements and creative power of the masses are not born independently of the material conditions They always presuppose some material conditions. But this does not justify the absolutization of material conditions

For example, it will not do to think that the demand for socialism will only come forth when there is modern machinery.

As aforesaid, human consciousness is not a mere reflection of the material world. Therefore, depending on the positions and ideological preparedness of people who are the subject of cognition and transformation, the masses may call for socialism and be capable of its realization, even when there is no modern machinery available. Herein lies the reason why the socialist revolution first took place and emerged victorious not in the capitalist countries with highly developed productive forces but in backward capitalist countries or in colonial nations which had no machine-building factory to speak of.

To sum up, the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea deem that history develops through the agency of the independent requirements and creative role of the masses and that this is the inevitable process of historical progress.

As stated before, that history develops means that the position and role of the masses are enhanced. What, then, does this signify?

The popular masses who aspire after Chajusong advance some demand for an independent life in each period of historical development and struggle for its realization. When their independent demand is materialized through their struggle, their position rises that much higher. And their independent demand does not stand still. Thus, when their position rises, the masses bring forward a new demand and struggle for its attainment. Now their struggle goes on at a higher level corresponding to the new demand. This means that the creative role of the masses rises as much.

The position and role of the masses continue to rise in this way in the process of the struggle for Chajusong, and history develops in this course while nature and society are constantly transformed. This is why we say that historical progress precisely means the enhancement of the position and role of the masses.

To sum up the socio-historical principles of Juche, historical change and development is caused by the independent requirements and creative role of the masses, the main agency of history, and the process of

development of history is no less than the process of enhancement of their position and role.

The long history of mankind has been and is developing continuously *by this law clarified by the socio-historical principles of Juche.*

The discovery of the socio-historical principle of Juche that the popular masses are the main agency of history constitutes a radical change in the socio-historical outlook

This discovery has provided a powerful weapon for greatly accelerating the onward movement of history by raising the creative role of the masses.

The Social Movement Has Its Subject

The readers have probably never heard that the social movement has *its subject. This is quite natural, for it refers to the specific feature of the* social movement which differs from the movement of nature, and it has been made clear for the first time by the Juche idea.

The aforesaid principle that the masses are the main agency of history derives from the scientific elucidation of this characteristic of the social movement. So, in order to grasp this principle correctly, it is essential to understand properly the fact that the social movement has its main agency.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il discovered the peculiar law of the social movement which is different from the movement of nature while deepening and developing the socio-historical principles of Juche.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"...the social movement has its subject, whereas there is no such thing in the motion of nature. In nature the motion takes place spontaneously through the interaction of material elements which exist objectively. In contrast, the social movement is caused and developed by the volitional action and role of the subject." (*Ibid*., p 15)

This classic proposition clarifies the fundamental difference between the motion of nature and the social movement

Now let me examine the movement of nature first.

Excuse me for stressing here the importance of correctly understanding the true meaning of the social movement. In the true sense of the word, the social movement consists in the human activities which bring about historical development and social progress. Therefore, only man interested in the development of history, in other words, man whose position and role rise only when history develops, namely the masses of the people, can be the main agency of social movement.

What, then, is the reason for only the popular masses being the main agency of social movement?

First, it is that all social movements result from the aspiration and demand of the masses to live independently.

In terms of the stages of social progress, human history has developed to socialist society via primitive, slaveholding, feudal and capitalist societies. Various social movements which gave cause to such processes of historical development were all brought about by the independent requirements of the masses.

This applies to the struggle of slaves against slavery, the peasants' movement against feudal rule, the working-class movement against exploitation and oppression by capital and the national-liberation movement in colonies against imperialist, colonial rule. Such movements are inconceivable apart from the demand of the masses to live freely in happiness as masters of nature and society rid of all restraint.

Secondly, it is that the masses of the people alone are blessed with the power and wisdom to transform nature and society.

The popular masses make up the collective of people who have Chajusong, creativity and consciousness. Nature and society are remodelled precisely by the creative power of the popular masses.

The maintenance and development of human society require, before anything else, the unceasing production of material wealth, and the masses of the people are immediately the producers of such material wealth. This is quite beyond dispute and so needs no explanation.

Science and technology are also developed by the popular masses. It is a common knowledge that the modern condensing steam-engine which, it is said, led to the Industrial Revolution was invented by Watt, a worker.

Here is an interesting anecdote. Vaccination was discovered over 180 years ago. In the present time people do not regard smallpox as a fearful disease, but in those days it took a heavy toll of human lives every year. So the discovery of vaccination was a remarkable event in the medical world. And how was it discovered? The discoverer was Edward Jenner, a physician of a hospital in a small local town. One day a milkmaid from a cattle farm came to the hospital. While examining her, Jenner found marks of smallpox on her body. Asked when she had suffered from the disease, the girl answered she had never been ill from it. She said, "We milkmaids aren't afraid of smallpox at all." Jenner noted all this fact and thought of the possibility of preventing smallpox. After persevering researches, he at last succeeded in discovering vaccination. We could go on to give similar instances.

What do these facts show? They show that through their practical activities the popular masses develop science and technology, gain experiences and create material conditions for their further development.

There is no need to say that the popular masses are the creators of art and that art is a reflection of the people's social activity for remodelling nature and society. Today the imperialist nations are flooded by an "art" alien to the masses, and this is an inartistic "art", which has nothing to do with us.

The masses are directly in charge of production and are creators of science and art. Not only that, they constitute the decisive forces in transforming society. It is by their struggle that the old society is remodelled constantly into a new, more advanced society.

As you see, nature and society are ceaselessly refashioned and history moves forward through the medium of the masses' creative role. So, without the masses of the people there can be no social movement itself and historical progress is inconceivable. After all, only the masses can be the main agency of history.

In this connection, a question may arise. Do not the wars waged by the reactionary rulers fall under the category of social movement? If they do, are the masses the main agency of this movement?

The socio-historical principles of Juche say "no" to these two questions. The reactionary rulers resort not only to war but also to various

stratagems to dominate and plunder the people. Their acts, far from advancing history and developing society, hinder their progress.

The aggressive wars conducted by the reactionary rulers are aimed, either in the past or in the present time, at enslaving the masses of the people. Moreover, they result in the massacre of the people, the creator of history, and the destruction of treasures created by mankind, thereby not only impeding social progress but also reversing history.

There are people who allude to some positive role of the reactionary wars of aggression by alleging that the invasion of the Mongol nomads expedited the unity of the Russian empire or that the two world wars helped to develop surgical techniques. On no account should we judge the whole by local phenomena. This is tantamount to not seeing the wood for the trees.

Just think of how much the Chajusong of the masses has been violated by the imperialist wars of aggression.

Development of history means the enhancement of the position and role of the masses, and the aggressive wars waged by the reactionary exploiting classes result in the degradation of the masses' position and role rather than heightening them.

To argue for the "benefits of war" in reference to aggressive wars is nothing but a sophistry of those interested in war.

The social movement of the people for advancing history and developing society is aimed at opposing and overcoming such phenomena which stand in the way of historical and social progress. Therefore, the machinations of all reactionary exploiting classes including the imperialists provide the circumstances in which the social movement takes place with the popular masses as its main agency, and the exploiting classes are the object which must be crushed by this movement. During the Second World War, for example, the revolutionary struggle of the people for Chajusong was carried on in the conditions of war unleashed by the imperialists to redivide the colonies. Thus, their revolutionary struggle was conducted as an anti-fascist movement in opposition to the imperialist war of aggression and, further, as a struggle to overthrow the colonial rule of imperialism and to achieve national independence and liberation.

Here is another question. When we say that the social movement has its own peculiar law distinctive from that of the motion of nature, we do not mean that the two have nothing in common with each other.

The socio-historical principles of Juche teach that the social movement has something in common with the natural motion in that it is a material movement.

As aforesaid, society is a part of the material world. So the social movement is also a material movement like the movement of nature It follows from this that the general laws of the material world operate in the social movement, too For example, applicable to society as well as to the natural world are the laws that all things and phenomena are related with one another, that they develop unceasingly in the process of old things being pushed out of the way by new things, and that all things change and develop into new ones through a gradual quantitative change passing into a qualitative change at some stage

Even in this case, however, these laws operate spontaneously and blindly in the natural world, whereas in society they act through the positive and purposeful activities of people For example, it is an immutable law that as capitalism develops, it changes over inevitably to socialism at some stage Yet, this process does not come about of itself but only as a result of the purposeful struggle of the people

Although social movement and natural motion have common points, it will not do to think that the laws of natural motion are applicable as they are to society

Some scholars in the pay of imperialism announce loudly, as if they have made a mighty discovery, that the laws of natural movement operate as they are in human society. One of the laws they have introduced is the "law of struggle for existence". In other words, they say that the law of the jungle operating in the natural world is applicable as it is to society. It is obvious who this "theory" serves

It will be appropriate to recall here that once this sophistry was used by the German fascists as an ideological weapon for their racist policy. Clamouring that the German race was the most superior people in the world and, accordingly, it was quite natural for the Germans to dominate the other, inferior races, they openly advocated the expansion of their so-

called "right to live". Himmler, the SS chief of the Nazis, went to the length of blurting out that to ensure the German people's "right to live", the propagation of the inferior races should be stopped, and brutally slaughtered millions of innocent people in many "man-killing plants" and concentration camps.

Society is not an animal world. It is a world inhabited by human beings with their Chajusong, creativity and consciousness. Therefore, in society the law of the jungle is rejected and a struggle continues against all forms of domination and slavery and for the realization of man's Chajusong and all kinds of laws emerge as the laws of this struggle.

It is an immutable truth that the social movement has the main agency, and the popular masses are this agency. This truth serves as the key to the scientific elucidation of all laws of the socio-historical movement which differs from the motion of nature.

The Popular Masses Are the Master in the Building of a New Society

Who is the main agency of the social movement was the subject of the foregoing chapter. Now let me take up the question—who is the master in the building of a new society?

In our days many countries, the countries of the third world in particular, are striving to build a new society. So a matter of the greatest concern and interest for the parties and governments of these countries is how to build a new society well. And a correct answer to this question will be obtained only when we know clearly who the master is in the building of a new society. Of course, the word "how" involves many questions. But the most important of all questions is who the master is. This is because only when we know it will various other questions relating to the building of a new society be solved.

Who, then, is the master in the building of a new society, in the revolution and construction?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The masses of the people are the masters of revolution and construc-

tion and the decisive factor in transforming nature and developing society." (*Ibid.*, p 15)

That the masses of the people are the masters of revolution and construction is the fundamental principle which embodies in the domain of revolution and construction the principle that the popular masses are the main agency of the social movement.

All theories and strategies and tactics elucidated by the Juche idea concerning the revolution and construction derive from this fundamental revolutionary principle Therefore, in order to get a comprehensive grasp of the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea and, further, the revolutionary theory of Juche, it is imperative to have a correct understanding of the fundamental principle of revolution in addition to the principle that the popular masses are the main agency of the social movement from which is derived the former

That the masses of the people are the masters of revolution and construction means that they constitute the decisive force that is directly responsible for the revolution and construction and decides the issue of the revolution

Why, then, are the popular masses the masters of revolution and construction?

It is first because the revolution and construction are undertakings for the masses and of the masses themselves.

The revolution and construction are undertakings for the masses In other words, they are aimed at freeing the masses from all forms of subordination and restriction of nature and society. The revolution occurring in an exploiter society is designed to emancipate the masses from exploitation and oppression, and the revolution in a society already free from exploitation and oppression is meant to wipe out all the remnants of the old exploiter society and bring about the Chajusong of the masses completely

At the same time, the revolution and construction are undertakings of the masses themselves They represent the struggle of the masses to do away with all obsolete things which violate and restrict their Chajusong Therefore, the popular masses are the masters of this struggle directly responsible for it They can attain their Chajusong only through a

struggle. Nobody in this world will undertake this struggle on their behalf. Revolution and construction are inconceivable apart from the masses of the people.

The masses are the masters of revolution and construction also because they have the power enough to lead them to victory. One who is powerless will be unable to act as the master in anything. The masses who constitute the collective of people with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness are the wisest and most powerful beings in the world.

All reactionary rulers without exception despise the masses regarding them as ignorant and benighted. In the film *The Tale of Chun Hyang* adapted from the middle-age novel of the same title of Korea, the son of an aristocratic family Li Mong Ryong holds a dialogue with his servant on his way back from a scene where he proposed to a low-class girl, the daughter of a former entertainer, but without success. Charmed by the beauty and uncommon sagacity of the girl, he fell in love with her but his pure love of youth was rejected owing to the insurmountable barrier of the rigorous caste system.

Li Mong Ryong says with a sigh, "Ah, how fine it would be if Chun Hyang were of an aristocratic family!" To this his servant talks back, "He he... but, rather, is it impossible for a nobleman to become a commoner?" At this the young master flares up and shouts, "You impudent rascal! Without the aristocracy who'll govern the country and how can the vulgar herd like you ever live on? I should like to know!"

Let this pass as a view of an obscure feudal nobleman, but Nietzsche praised to the skies by the imperialist reactionaries as a great philosopher said, "Mankind is undoubtedly a means rather than an end. ... Mankind is only a material for exp[illegible] a failure produced from enormous surplus

and why do they despise the people so? Because by doing so they can dominate and exploit them as they please.

Say what the reactionary rulers will, the masses of the people are the *wisest and most powerful beings in the world. How so?*

All that is valuable in this world is created by the people. The culture of ancient Egypt and India, and that of ancient Rome and Greece were all created by the people. And modern civilization which the people of old times could hardly imagine has also been created by the people. There is nothing in this world which has not been created by the hands of people. It is due to the creative power and wisdom of the popular masses that nature and society have been transformed in keeping with the independent aspirations and demands of man, society has been so developed as today and history has progressed This is a hard fact no one can deny Only those who shut their eyes pretending not to see can negate it

Thus, the revolution and construction are undertakings for the people and of the people themselves, and the masses of the people have enough creative wisdom and power to push forward them. This is why the masses of the people are the masters of revolution and construction

This is a truth confirmed by history

Let me take a few examples.

Mankind have come and are coming through many revolutions, such as the revolutionary movements which put an end to slavery, the bourgeois revolution which overthrew the feudal system, the national-liberation revolution in colonies which toppled the colonial ruling system of imperialism, the socialist revolution which removed exploitation and oppression by capital, and the revolution after the establishment of the socialist system aimed at eliminating the remnants of the old society and ensuring complete Chajusong for the popular masses.

Who, then, was, and is, the master in all these revolutionary movements?

These revolutionary movements were conducted in different historical conditions and their outcomes were different from each other. Nevertheless, their masters were always the masses of the people. The master of the struggle for toppling the slave system was the masses of the

slaves. They were humiliated as speaking chattels, but without their unremitting struggle the slave system could not be destroyed. The real master of the bourgeois revolution which brought down feudalism was the exploited masses including the serfs, the overwhelming majority of the population in feudal society, and urban handicraftsmen. True, the new-emerging bourgeoisie who were also interested in the bourgeois revolution took part in it. But the decisive forces in this revolution were the exploited masses including the peasants. As historical facts show, although they were interested in this revolution, the bourgeoisie always vacillated between revolution and counter-revolution owing to their status as exploiters, and sometimes reconciled themselves to and even colluded with the feudal forces. For instance, the bourgeoisie played a comparatively active part in the bourgeois revolutions which took place in France and a number of other European countries in the 17th and 18th centuries. But if the peasantry who made up the vast majority of the population had not risen, these revolutions would have failed. In the Russian bourgeois revolutions in 1905 and in the February of 1917 the bourgeoisie sided with Tzar rather than identifying themselves with the revolutions. After all, even in the bourgeois revolution which overthrew feudalism, the master was always the masses of the people. The broad sections of the colonial people were the masters of the struggle which did away with the colonial rule of imperialism, and this we directly witnessed and so it needs no further explanation.

From the principle that the popular masses are masters is derived the fundamental requirement of revolutionary struggle that for victory in the revolution and construction it is essential to believe in their strength and mobilize it.

The fundamental principle that the masses are the masters of revolution and construction is embodied, when applied to each country, in the principle that its people are the master of its revolution and construction.

The country and nation is the unit of social life formed in the course of long history and is a solid community of people. Today all people live and work in political, economic and cultural relationship with the country and nation as the unit. This is why each national state differs from others

in blood, language and territory, in the social system, in the psychology and manners of people.

Since the country and nation is the unit of social life and the solid community of people formed like this in the course of long history, it is inevitable that the revolution and construction should be carried on by each national state as a unit. In fact, today the revolution and construction are conducted by the unit of national state. This is so even with the countries whose social and economic conditions and revolutionary tasks are similar, not to mention the countries with differing socio-economic conditions and revolutionary tasks.

Since the revolution and construction are carried on by each national state as a unit, their master is its people.

Why? It is above all because the revolution in each country is a task for and of its people. The revolution in each country is caused by the violation or restriction of the Chajusong of its people. Therefore, the revolution in each country is an enterprise for achieving its people's Chajusong and a task incumbent on them. One is always responsible for settling one's own problems.

Each people is the master of the revolution in their own country also because they alone are capable of leading the revolution and construction to victory.

Since the revolution in each country is an undertaking for transforming the nature and society of this country, its victory cannot be expected before its people rise up. External support, however great, is in vain if the people of the country concerned do not rise up for a revolution

Further, the revolution and construction take place in the specific conditions of each country, and its people are best acquainted with these conditions. As for the state of affairs in African countries, how can the European people know them better than their own people? So it is their own people who can formulate the correct strategy and tactics to lead their revolution and construction to victory

And in order to secure victory in the revolution, the revolutionary forces should be prepared adequately and mobilized without delay when the situation turns favourable This, too, depends on the strength of the people of the country concerned It is impossible either to prepare the

forces of others purposefully or to mobilize them at will when necessary. The history of revolutionary struggle knows the grim fact that people who only counted on the help of others without thinking to foster their own forces suffered an irretrievable failure.

It is a matter of principle to settle one's national problems by relying on the strength of one's own people. It is foolish and mistaken to think of making revolution with the help of others and living comfortably at their expense. Such a mentality conflicts with the independent spirit of a revolutionary.

As you see, the revolution in every country is an undertaking for its people and a task devolving on them, and its victory can only be secured by their strength. So the people of that country are its master.

Needless to say, this does not mean that the support of other countries is of no use.

The revolutions of all countries are links in the chain of the world revolution and are related with each other by way of support and reinforcement. So the people of every country should not be indifferent to the revolutions in other countries but render active support and aid to them. But, however great the support and aid of other countries may be, they are useless if the master is unprepared. This is as pointless as watering a dead tree, for outside help can always prove effective only if internal force is ready to accept it. If the master sits still, the guest can do nothing no matter how much he wants to help.

International support and aid can only play the role of reinforcement when the people of the country concerned, the master of its revolution, are prepared to receive them. Under no circumstances can outside force play the part of the master. Historical experience has shown more than once that if the internal revolutionary forces are fully prepared, the revolution in a country will triumph without aid from outside, but if they are not, the revolution will flop however great the outside help is.

The civil war in Spain in 1936 is an example of this. How was it that the Popular Front of Spain which seized power in February 1936 was ousted unable to check the counter-revolutionary offensive of the Franco fascist clique? It is true that the treacherous intrigues of imperialist powers and particularly the open armed intervention

of fascist Germany and Italy were the principal cause for this. But the international support and aid to the Spanish revolution were also very great. When the Franco hordes started a rebellion, an international brigade was formed and volunteers from many countries came. Nevertheless, the Popular Front failed to defend the gains of revolution to the end mainly because its own internal revolutionary forces were weak and it had not made thorough preparations to cope with a possible counter-revolutionary offensive.

History also knows many instances that in spite of very favourable international conditions for revolution, the people failed to seize power because there were no internal revolutionary forces ready.

This proves that the people of each country is the master of their revolution and also that they constitute its driving force.

The position and role of the masses as the masters of the revolution and construction rise higher in the course of transforming nature and society. The further nature and society are transformed in keeping with the aspirations and demands of the masses, the more the position of the latter is strengthened, and the stronger their position becomes and the more their power grows, the greater their positive action becomes

What is the lesson of the principle that the masses are the masters of revolution and construction?

This principle teaches the people the truth that for victory in the revolution they should defend their right, fulfil their responsibilities and play their role as best they can, as the master of revolution and construction.

This fundamental principle of revolution serves as a compass to steer the sacred struggle for the Chajusong of the popular masses to victory.

The Tragedy of the Utopian Socialists

It is aforesaid that the masses are the main agency of history.

What, then, are the reactionary exploiting classes?

This is also a question which must be clarified for a correct understanding of the law of social development.

It was the utopian socialists who dreamed for the first time in history of a society free from exploitation and oppression. They described in great detail a society free from exploitation and oppression by capital, a society where "eternal justice" would be realized.

Among the utopian socialists there were people like Robert Owen who built and ran a big mill at New Lanark, Scotland, in an attempt to carry out a reform (ideal) so as to realize his dream. But their ideas were nothing but a fantasy which was doomed to failure from the start. What was the primary cause of their tragedy?

It was that they did not know the masses as the main agency of history and what the reactionary exploiting classes were when they had to fight against the reactionary rulers by mobilizing the power of the masses in order to build a society free from exploitation and oppression. Thus, they sought to realize their ideal with the blessing of the reactionary rulers rather than through the struggle of the people.

The utopian socialists were not the only people who were ignorant of what the reactionary exploiting classes were and what part they played in historical progress. The world knows a countless number of books on history, but perhaps no correct answer to this question could be found in them.

What are the reactionary exploiting classes then?

The socio-historical principles elucidated by the Juche idea furnish the correct answer to it.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"The subject of history is the working masses, not the reactionary exploiting classes. The working masses carve out and develop history, but the exploiting classes try to arrest and turn back the historical advance. All exploiting classes, after all, constitute a reaction against history; they are the target of revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 16.)

While the masses are the subject of history and masters of revolution, the reactionary exploiting classes are historical reaction and the target of revolutionary struggle.

Why is it so? Because, in short, they try to halt and reverse the march of history.

Progress of history requires the remodelling of nature and society.

But the reactionary exploiting classes interfere with all this.

To begin with, let us have a look at the part played by them in the struggle for remaking nature.

Their part in this struggle is nil.

There is a folk story in our country known by the title of *Rice Farming of Lord Han* Prime Minister Han Ung In of feudal Korea spent some time at his country home, when he made his servants grow rice, the servants he had taken along with him from the capital. He used to say "Agriculture is the foundation of the state," but he did not know how rice was cultivated. Every day he took a walk with a cane along the edge of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he could not tell if rice farming was going well, so he was simply delighted to see the fields becoming greener day by day. One day he looked around the fields which were now rich green and, beaming with joy, boasted to the farmers, "Our rice crops are growing fast like that because the fields have already been weeded twice No other paddy in this plain can compare with ours, I should say. I go out and see the rice crops morning and evening and find a great joy in them " The lord was so proud that the farmers went and saw his fields, only to find them thick with wild millets instead of rice plants From that time on, it is said, people acquired a habit of likening any bungled job to the "rice farming of Lord Han".

This is of course a sarcasm directed against a feudal aristocrat, but even this brief story enables us to get a glimpse of the feudal rulers' incompetence in transforming nature

The exploiting classes are no more than social parasites that live on by exploiting the people. They are not only incapable of remaking nature, but also regard the lofty work of nature-remaking with contempt. The former "Emperor of Manchukuo" Pu-i, it was said, used to be spoon-fed and to stand still with open hands to be dressed by his attendants, for he thought it to be "undignified" to eat or dress by himself. Politically a puppet of the Japanese imperialists, Pu-i appears to have acted completely as a puppet in his private life, too. How can the "Emperor of Manchukuo" be a solitary example? All members of the reactionary exploiting classes live an idle life to one degree or another.

They would not stir a finger to remodel nature, but, worse still, stand in the way of transforming nature and developing production It

happened when the fluorescent lamp was first invented. As everyone knows, this lamp benefits human life in many ways. But there were people who were not pleased with the invention of it. Some might doubt this, but the bosses of a few American monopolies were the cases in point. The monopoly firms engaged in the manufacture of incandescent lamps were displeased because their products would not sell owing to the fluorescent lamps and those which had a monopoly of electricity production were worried that the consumption of electric power might fall when the fluorescent lamps which required less electricity were widely used. So these monopolies are said to have concluded an agreement on restricting the production of the newly-invented lamp.

The exploiting classes talk as if they have an interest in the development of production and make some great contribution to the development of science and technology. But this is not true. Indeed, they are concerned about new achievements of science and technology. But their motive is not social welfare but money-making. Thus, in exploiter society new achievements of science and technology are introduced into production as long as they bring money to the exploiting classes. Many and many a valuable invention has been shelved because it impairs their interests.

The reactionary exploiting classes hinder the development of production by exploiting and oppressing the masses of the people who are immediately producers.

Take an example. In our country tangerines are now produced only on Cheju Island in the South Sea. According to historical data, tangerines were originally cultivated in the south coast areas of the country, too, where a warm sea breeze blows. But in the days of feudal rule the exploiting classes levied so high taxes on them that the amount to be delivered as taxes was larger than the yields. So the cultivators had to buy more tangerines than were produced to pay the taxes. It was not an accident that in those days the farmers were wont to say, "Three tangerine trees are enough to bring ruin to a family". So the farmers were compelled to cut down all tangerine trees. This was how these trees were only left on the island. This is just one example showing that the reactionary exploiters bar the people, the decisive factor of production, from having an interest

in production, thereby restraining the development of the productive forces

Further, the reactionary exploiting classes exhaust the creative power of the people for the purpose of ensuring their so-called "authority" and perverted enjoyment and thus obstruct the struggle for transforming nature.

It is a common knowledge that King Khufu of Egypt, who wanted to enjoy eternal happiness in the "next world" after his death, had a 146.59-metre high pyramid built with six million tons of stone by mobilizing 100,000 slaves for 20 years of forced labour So, what a multitude of people had to spend their creative power uselessly for a handful of reactionary exploiters!

Ancient Egypt is not the exception The successive Sultans of Turkey in the Middle Ages built pompous royal harems by forcibly mobilizing thousands of people and spent their time indulging in gorgeous feasts and dissipations, which resulted in the squandering of precious material wealth created by the people. The harem of the palace of Top Kapu in Constantinople, a part of which remains even today, is a good illustration of how the Sultans in those days squandered the social wealth created by the sweat and blood of the people in their personal enjoyments and dissipated life. Let this pass as a thing of the ancient and mediaeval times. But no end of similar instances can be found even now. The director of the "Ford Motor Company" in the United States is said to have spent 225,000 dollars to give a banquet in order to launch his daughter into society.

Owing to such anti-popular deeds of reactionary exploiters, social wealth is wasted and the people who are producers are impoverished There is a saying in our country which goes, "One wealthy man spells ruin for three villages" The greed and wastage of the exploiting classes drive the people, the decisive element of the productive forces, into poverty and retard their free development, and this restrains the creative activities of man for conquering nature.

There will be no need for lengthy explanation about the exploiting classes' opposition to the remodelling of society. The exploiting classes are always vitally interested in maintaining the existing exploiting system under which they hold the dominant position. Thus, they set up an

enormous bureaucratic machinery and apparatuses of repression such as the army, police, prison, etc., and mercilessly crack down on the people if the latter should do the least harm to the social system which guarantees their position as masters. World history knows many despots and dictators such as Caesar, Nero, Hitler and Mussolini who brutally suppressed and murdered people for demanding progressive social reforms. The reactionary exploiting classes attempt to halt the forward movement of society and turn back the wheel of history by suppressing and stamping out the struggle of the masses for Chajusong sometimes with ruthless violence and sometimes with a cunning policy of appeasement and deceit. This shows that they are not the subject of history but the historical reaction and the target of revolutionary struggle.

The struggle of the masses for developing society and advancing history is, in the last analysis, a struggle against such attempts of the exploiting classes and for sweeping away these classes from the arena of history. Through this struggle the slaveholders and feudal rulers have already been expelled from the arena of history and history has advanced, and today the imperialists and colonialists are being driven out and history advancing.

The whole course of march of exploiter society since social breakup into classes has been a history of struggle between the creator of history and its reaction, between the master of revolution and its target, in other words, between the popular masses and the reactionary exploiting classes.

Such, in the main, is all I want to say on the present subject. But I must make a few remarks more, since the paid historians of Japan have recently compiled a history textbook, we are told, in which the aggressive acts of the Japanese imperialists in the past are embellished and beautified.

This can never be regarded as having nothing to do with the fact that the reactionary exploiting classes are not the subject of history but its reaction.

The textbook in question has already aroused strong protests and denunciations in many Asian countries. How grossly it has distorted

history has been exposed to the world and, moreover, it is unworthy of discussion. So there is no need to dwell on it.

What I want to mention here is the reason why the imperialists and the scholars in their pay warp history.

Their real intention is nothing other than glossing over the crimes they committed as aggressors in the past. This was the objective of the Japanese imperialists when they rewrote the textbook misrepresenting history as if in invading many countries of Asia they had introduced modern civilization to these countries It is all the more questionable that this textbook has been published when the revived Japanese militarism is openly revealing a wild ambition to realize once more its old dream of becoming the leader of Asia.

Distortion of history is originally a routine practice used by the exploiting classes to cheat the people. When after the Second World War the peoples of many colonial and dependent countries cast off the yoke of colonialism and took the path of independence, the imperialists and their paid historians set about counterfeiting history without any scruples, and their principal concern is to misrepresent facts as if in the past the imperialists had acted as guides leading those countries along the road to modern civilization.

It is really preposterous to say that imperialism brought modern civilization to colonial countries. As everyone knows, the colonial regime established in Asian, African and Latin American countries was not a natural outcome of social progress in these countries, but was imposed on them by force by the imperialists. So it served the predatory policy of imperialism from beginning to end Following their military occupation of these countries, the imperialists, with a view to attaining their predatory ends, preserved and consolidated the old social relations against the will of their peoples and coupled them with the imperialist social relations of plunder and oppression As a result, the people of these countries were subjected to duple and triple exploitation and oppression by the domestic reactionaries and imperialists, and their social progress was hampered to the extreme.

National degradation to the status of imperialist colony resulted in the fall of the people's position. For colonial subjugation is the most brutal

form of subjugation which combines enslavement by means of fetters and enslavement through the medium of land and capital. When northeast China was under the occupation of the Japanese imperialists, 500,000 able-bodied men between 18-50 were commandeered every year to do forced labour under whips. They were no better than the slaves of ancient times. Similar instances could be found in all colonies.

In general, feudal social relations held sway in the countryside of colonies. So the peasants groaned under exploitation and oppression, tied to the lands. Their exploitation and oppression were made ever more cruel by the imperialists who now emerged newly as big landowners. In some countries the imperialists set up capitalist plantations and the labourers working on these farms were veritable slaves.

The imperialists were reluctant to introduce modern technology, they were only interested in high colonial profits which they got by exploiting cheap labour. As a consequence, the productive forces were at a very low level of development in all colonies without exception, which were far removed from modern civilization.

It goes without saying that the colonial peoples had no elementary right to live, not to mention political right. Terauchi, the first "governor-general" after the Japanese imperialists' occupation of Korea, openly declared, "The Koreans should either obey the Japanese laws or die". The imperialists treated the inhabitants of their colonies like beasts, and imprisoned and murdered them mercilessly if the latter were not obedient.

Such is the colonial system of imperialism.

How can the emergence of such a system be regarded as a development of society and how can the imperialists who set up such a system be pioneers of modern civilization? Facts are diametrically opposite to this. As a matter of fact, in many countries the old feudal social relations had begun to crumble under the impact of the popular struggle and the way to a modern society had been being paved already before the coming of the imperialists. This was an inexorable process of social progress in these countries. But for the imperialists, their peoples would have remodelled their societies into advanced ones by their creative labour and struggle and made great progress in bringing about their Chajusong.

After all, social progress in these countries was retarded rather than promoted by the imperialists.

Such is the historical fact. In spite of this, the imperialists are bragging as if they had made some kind of contribution to the development of colonial countries. This is a crafty trick to conceal their past crimes and to infiltrate into these countries once more. The imperialists built concrete houses in several cities and developed mines in order to rule and rob the colonial peoples. If anyone should say just for this reason that they brought modern civilization to the latter, we must say he is an ignoramus who does not even know the rudiments of social progress. The yardstick for measuring the level of social progress is not concrete houses or mines but the position and role of the popular masses.

The Juche idea teaches this very truth and thereby vigorously guides hundreds of millions of people to crush all descriptions of reactionaries against history without mercy and develop history independently and creatively as its main agency in the true sense of the term.

2) ARE THE POSITION AND ROLE OF THE MASSES THE SAME IN ANY SOCIETY AND AT ANY TIME ?

In the preceding paragraph we studied the truth that the masses are the main agency of history, namely, the independent requirement and creative role of the masses are the factor of historical development Now, then, are the position and role of the popular masses as the main agency of history the same at all times?

Let me discuss this question

The History of Ordeals

The history of mankind is 5,000-year long, except

times called primitive ages. For thousands of years when exploiter society has existed since the emergence of reactionary rulers the masses of the people were only exploited, oppressed, humiliated and despised by the small number of rulers. It is the masses of the people who advance history and develop society, and how is it that they had to traverse the thorny path, subjected to exploitation, oppression, humiliation and contempt, over such a long time?

A clear answer to this we can find in the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Although they are the subject of history, the masses of the people do not hold the same position and play the same role in all ages and in all societies." (*Ibid.*, p. 16.)

The masses of the people are the main agency of history in all ages and in all societies. In all times and countries the popular masses were the central figure in the socio-historical movement. This we have already studied.

But the position and role of the popular masses as the main agency of history are not the same across all times and in all societies. There is no need to say that their position and role in exploiter society differ from those in exploitation-free society. And in slaveholding society, feudal society and capitalist society which were dominated commonly by exploiters, their position and role have some difference.

What, then, were the position and role of the masses in the old exploiter society?

In exploiter society, too, the masses of the people were the main agency of history. But there they could not hold the position due to them as masters of society.

True, in common exploiter societies the conditions of the popular masses were somewhat different depending on the nature of the social systems, but their conditions were essentially the same in that they wer not the masters of history and society.

Then, what is the explanation for the fact that the popular mas exploiter society cannot occupy the position of genuine master of while they are the main agency of history?

Let us leave this question till some time later and take a look first at how our ancestors lived and what a thorny path of life they travelled.

The first exploiter society in human history was the ancient slaveholding society. Needless to say, there were such countries as passed from primitive to feudal society without going through the stage of slaveholding society. But we need not discuss exceptions here.

The popular masses in ancient society were slaves. This is why it is called slaveholding society. The conditions of the masses who were slaves were really miserable. They were chattels of their masters and treated like beasts. Slaves were called "speaking chattels", and this was no exaggeration.

Slaveholders were free to sell and buy their slaves. The slaves of ancient Rome wore collars, which had inscriptions, "Please catch me in case I should run away". Ancient Rome had centres of slave trade, and a large slave market was on Delos Island, where sometimes 10,000 slaves were trafficked a day.

Needless to say, slaves were not allowed to have a family. Their masters could slay them as they liked. Fugitive slaves, if caught, were put to death. Their masters would have them in chains in case they should run away. Being the chattels of slave owners, they were sometimes entombed alive with the dead bodies of their masters. Together with the bones of the master, the skeletal remains of over 140 slaves who had been buried alive were unearthed from the "Kangsang Tomb", a burial mound of the time of Kochoson, an ancient state of Korea. The system of immolation burial of slaves was not confined to ancient Korea. Historians regard this system as an important criterion of judgment in determining whether there was a slaveholding society or not.

The conditions of slaves who were the oppressed masses of slaveholding society were really wretched like this. They enjoyed no elementary human right and were treated beneath human while they were human beings. This is not an imaginary concoction. The Hammurabi's code believed to have been drawn up during the reign of King Hammurabi (1792-1750 B.C.) of the ancient state of Babylonia puts a special stress on the relations of slave ownership. The law code alone is enough to show that the slaves in ancient society were in no better

conditions than animals. Plato the philosopher of ancient Greece offered three thanks to God, one of which is for not destining him to be a slave. Could this be a casual deed? Over the long ancient times the masses of the people lived like animals.

What was the position of the people in feudal society then?

In feudal society where agriculture was basic to social production, the farming population constituted the overwhelming majority of the oppressed masses. They were tied to the lands of the feudal lords. Hence the name of serf, the slave attached to the lord's land, different from the slave of slaveholding society bound in fetters. The peasants tied to the lands were subject to cruel exploitation and oppression by feudal lords, the owners of lands.

Du Fu, a progressive poet of the Tang dynasty in China, said in his poem *Travelling from the Capital City to Fengxiang County:*

> *When delicacies go rotting in the rich houses,*
> *Bodies of men dead from cold lie on the roadside.*
> ...
> *The silk cloth in the wealthy houses*
> *Was woven by poor women.*
> *But their husbands driven hard by whips*
> *Delivered it to the mansions.*

There was the unequal caste system in feudal society, and the farmers who belonged to the lower social class had to suffer from duple and triple oppression and humiliation. The castes were hereditary in most cases and so the sons and grandsons of a plebeian were destined to be plebeians.

The masses of farmers had no political liberty and right. When they met a nobleman on the road, they had to prostrate themselves on the ground to pay their respects and were not allowed to raise their heads. In such conditions their political liberty and right were quite inconceivable. The positions of women were still more miserable. In ancient Greece it was said that "the wife is expected to bear sons, the concubine, to look after the man, and the prostitute, to please him". Women's positions were no better than this in feudal society, too.

It may be believed that the readers have read the short novel *Blessing* of the Chinese writer Lu Xun. It deals with the tragic lot of a good-natured and industrious woman who lives unhappily all her life and, on the night of one New Year's eve when other people enjoy the blessing of Heaven, falls down on the snow-covered roadside and dies bearing a grudge against the accursed world. The novel furnishes a good illustration of what a cruel life the women had to live under feudal rule.

As to what sufferings and how many tragedies the merciless feudal exploitation, the unequal caste system and the inhuman feudal ethics and morality caused to the people, historical records and literary works tell us a great deal. So believing that the readers have a vivid idea about them, I would say no more.

To sum up, the Middle Ages were dark ages when hundreds of millions of people were exploited, oppressed, humiliated, insulted and kept in ignorance and obscurity by the feudal rulers.

Then, what are the positions of the people in capitalist society?

In capitalist society no fetters and feudalistic caste system are in sight Thus, on the surface all people appear to be free and equal. But what is the reality?

Capitalist society is a society where money is everything. Therefore, the moneyless popular masses who make up the vast majority of the population in this society are slaves of gold.

Originally, capital was born of the people's distress. The readers may have heard the saying "Sheep devour men". It comes from England which was the first in the world to enter on the path of capitalism. There the capitalists wrested lands out of the farmers and made pastures of them to graze sheep. Thus, they produced wool for the woolen textile industry on the one hand and multitudes of penniless wage labourers on the other. Thus they paved the way for the development of capitalism. Capitalism came into being in this way at the sacrifice of millions of farmers. This is not all Capital was also obtained from the indemnities for sanguinary wars and from the inhuman expropriation of colonial people.

Capital which came into the world in this way was fused with state power to serve as a means of exploiting and oppressing the people.

In capitalist society the people who have no money have no

political right and even no elementary right to live. The bourgeois regime which is allegedly "impartial to all" is in fact a regime for the capitalists and no more than an instrument for them to exploit and oppress the people at will.

The laws of capitalist nations which are called "law-governed countries" are dotted with flowery words such as "liberty", "equality" and "defence of human rights". But they are all a camouflage to cover up the exploitation and oppression of the people. The workers and peasants are rarely represented in the parliaments of capitalist countries. Even in England where the bourgeois revolution was carried out before anywhere else and which is boastfully advertised as the "homeland of parliamentarism", not a single worker or peasant was returned to the parliament for a long time since its inception. Only in 1900 two workers were elected to it for the first time. But this astonished the rulers including Queen Victoria almost out of their wits. This fact is striking proof that the bourgeois regime which is said to ensure "equality for all" is in reality a regime for a handful of capitalists and their democracy is a democracy for the capitalists.

In capitalist society those who have no money are denied political liberty and right and even the elementary right of existence.

In capitalist countries stores are piled with mountains of goods and there are schools and hospitals. In some of these countries so-called "compulsory education" is loudly talked about. But what use will it be for people who are moneyless? It is as good as a rice cake in the picture. Without money you cannot but be hungry no matter how much bread there may be in the food store, cannot go to school no matter how talented you may be and cannot consult a doctor even when you are ill. This is what capitalist society is.

Capitalist society where money is almighty and the rich get ever richer and the poor get ever poorer is a heaven for the wealthy people but a hell for the paupers.

According to a magazine, the Rockefellers in the United States who get billions of dollars of net income a year have built a deluxe villa on the bank of the lower Mississippi, its site occupying more than 800 hectares of ground. It has over 40 palatial buildings with employees

exceeding 1,000. On the other hand, the Harlem district of New York fit for habitation by only several tens of thousands is inhabited by hundreds of thousands of Negroes. Tumbledown houses, damp cellars, heaps of foul-smelling garbage, people in rags, children crying for food, beggars, prostitutes, men offering their eyes for sale—this is the picture of this district. What a striking contrast it presents against the Rockefeller villa!

Capitalist society where money rules supreme has no visible fetters and mediaeval caste system, but there money takes the place of all this. In other words, people are tied to money instead of fetters and the caste system. Being hitched to capital means being bound to the capitalists. In capitalist society all unequal and subordinating social relations are only covered up by means of money. After all, in this society, too, the masses are barred from enjoying any liberty and equal rights, and are refused to occupy their legitimate position as masters of society.

There is no need for lengthy explanation about the colonial people being kept from becoming the masters of society In the past the imperialists subjugated the Asian, African and Latin American peoples by force of arms and robbed and oppressed them by unheard-of brutal methods

In order to dominate and plunder the colonial people, the imperialists revived all methods employed by former rulers and combined them with capitalist methods. As a result, the colonial people were reduced to dual and treble slaves bound up by chains and tied to land and capital.

The capitalism of Western Europe ensured its development by robbing and massacring the Indians who had created the Aztecan and Incaic cultures and today's United States of America is a country founded on the corpses of tens of millions of Indians. There will probably be none in the world who does not know this.

What were the positions of the African people? Even now you can see on the Slave Coast of West Africa the storehouses which were once used by the slave traders of Europe to keep Africans they had hunted as they would wild beasts. According to the calculation of the Negro scholar Du

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There is no need for lengthy explanation about the colonial people being kept from becoming the masters of society. In the past the imperialists subjugated the Asian, African and Latin American peoples by force of arms and robbed and oppressed them by unheard-of brutal methods.

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Bois, the number of black people taken away from Africa or killed by Western colonialists reach some 100 million. This is eloquent of what a tragic fate the colonialists had imposed on the people of this continent in the past.

The history of colonies is stained with the blood of hundreds of millions of their people.

In exploiter society the oppressed masses who are our forefathers were never once the genuine masters of society. They only followed a path beset with ordeals. Thus, although the masses were the subject of history, they remained as the object of history.

Why then were they not the genuine masters of society in exploiter society where they created all material wealth and developed society?

As I promised already, I would now pass to this question.

In short, it is because for a long time the masses remained unaware of their social and class positions and their power and were not united as a political force.

In the past they did not know why they were so poor and had to bear humiliation and oppression and if they were capable of improving their own lot. Moreover, they were not united as a political force.

It was ages before the masses came to awake to their positions and power. This was why in the past they failed to become masters of society although they advanced history and developed society.

Let me take a few examples.

In ancient society the slaves fought bravely against the exploitation and tyranny of their masters and, at last, tore down the slave system. Nevertheless, they failed to become genuine masters of society, and were tied down to the lands as serfs.

The readers, I believe, know of the revolt of slaves led by famous Spartacus in ancient Rome. The revolt started under the leadership of Spartacus who was a trainee at a gladiatorial training school at Capua lasted for two years, shaking the Roman state to its very foundation. But this heroic struggle failed to bring emancipation to the slaves. The courageous slave warriors ended up by being crucified on 6,000 crosses erected along the road leading to Rome from Capua. Equipped with weapons of the Roman army and formed in its fashion, the insurgent

troops were formidable and at first defeated the Roman forces everywhere. But they were not yet awakened to their positions nor united as a political force So their struggle was devoid of a clear objective and correct methods. Accordingly, it could not win

Of course, Spartacus and his slave colleagues were not to blame for this At the time, the struggle of the people for Chajusong was still in its infancy. So how could they formulate a correct action programme and methods of struggle? We could not reprove a kindergartner for not understanding the secondary school books.

Now let us examine the struggle of the peasants against feudal exploitation and oppression

The struggle of the peasants was an advanced one in comparison with the struggle of slaves. But it was little different from the latter in that it lacked a correct fighting programme and methods.

The "Taiping-tianguo" peasant war in China in the middle of the 19th century will afford an example A group of peasants who rose in rebellion against the feudal rule of the Manchu government in 1850 proclaimed "Taiping-tianguo" at the Jintian village of Guiping County, Guangxi Province in 1851 This new state even carried out such progressive social reforms as the abolition of feudal landownership and inhibition of marriage by purchase But they did not know what to do to become real masters of society The leader of this peasant war, Hong Xiuquan, went to the length of allowing himself to be proclaimed Heavenly King and making his lieutenants kings. In the end, the leaders became degenerate and scrambled for power and offices. As a result, the peasant war which had lasted for nearly 15 years ended in a failure. This war gives us a good idea of what the peasants' struggles in the Middle Ages were like.

Because they were unaware of their social and class positions and their own strength and were not firmly united into a political force, the peasants failed to gather the fruit of their own struggle even after overthrowing the feudal system by a decisive thrust Thus, they were reduced to a slave to capital which had made its debut on the historical scene.

What is the lesson of all this? It is that when the people are unconscious of their own positions and strength and are not united

organizationally, their struggle is doomed to failure. This is how the popular masses, who were the main agency of history even in exploiter society, failed to shape history independently. Hence such a slow and tortuous progress of history.

In exploiter society the masses, who failed to shape history independently as masters of society and their own lot, were compelled to leave their destiny always at the mercy of the reactionary exploiting classes.

Whoever is acquainted just a little with world history may know how in the past the imperialists bargained over and hacked the destinies of small and weak nations behind the scenes.

The Katsura-Taft talk prior to the seizure of Korea by the Japanese imperialists was held behind closed doors and was not reported in the press. It is therefore not widely known to the public. At this meeting between the then Japanese prime minister and the then US Secretary of War, the questions of Korea and the Philippines were bargained, and it was agreed that the United States would connive at Japan's occupation of Korea and Japan, at US seizure of the Philippines. The occupation of Korea by Japan was thus backed up by the United States.

Another such example is the notorious "Munich Accord" signed before the Second World War by the German fascists and the Western imperialists, which left the destiny of the Czechoslovak people at the mercy of the former.

The political map of Africa before the Second World War shows that most of the African countries were colonies of the imperialists. Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia alone were independent, if only in name. This was why Africa was then called "continent of darkness" or "colonial continent". In the past the imperialists met together and haggled over the destinies of the peoples of this continent behind the back of history. They hacked their countries like fish placed on the chopping board, dividing them each into two or three or exchanging the lands of African people among themselves as if these were some sorts of articles.

Historical facts show that although the masses are the main agency of history, they cannot consciously shape history as they like in exploiter society.

One more word.

When we say that in exploiter society the masses failed to shape history independently and travelled a path of sufferings, it does not mean on any account that their struggle against the exploiting classes is worthless. Because the people were unaware of their positions and strength and failed to find out the correct ways of hewing out their destiny, they were unable to become masters of the state and society and to shape history consciously as they liked. But in the course of their bloody struggle they accumulated experiences and fostered their power.

If there were not the struggle of slaves against slavery, the struggle of the peasants against feudal exploitation and inequality in social status, and the struggle of the people against the domination of capital and despotism of colonialists in the bygone times, can there be the all-out struggle of the people for Chajusong today? The contemporary struggle is the continuation and development of the struggle of the past, and the tremendous strength displayed by the people today has been accumulated in the process of prolonged struggle. Although the struggle waged by the people for a long period experienced failures and vicissitudes, it has cleared the way for the advent of a new time when the masses of the people cease to be the object of history and emerge as its master.

From the Object of History into Its Prime Mover

I have so far mentioned that although the masses are the main agency of history, they had to travel a thorny path as the object of history in exploiter society.

If they are to forge history consciously as genuine master of society, what is to be done? In other words, what is needed for them to change from the object of history into its master?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"Only by seizing state power and the means of production in their own hands and by establishing a socialist system can the working masses free themselves from exploitation and oppression and create history consciously as true masters of society and their own destiny." (*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

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If the masses are to shape history consciously as true masters of society, two questions must be resolved. One is taking state power into their hands and the other, seizing the means of production.

What, then, is state power that the masses can become the masters of society only when they seize it?

State power is the power of political control. In other words, it is the power of political control over society.

State power in class society is an instrument for one class to control other classes.

Unlike a political party or a social organization, state power is a most comprehensive political organization. A political party or a social organization only exercises control over its members, but state power exercises jurisdiction over all people in the country.

State power has compelling force. Whether willing or not, people should submit themselves to state power. If they do not, state power uses its compelling force to make them obey it. State power exercises its compelling force by means of laws, and punishes offenders against them according to the relative gravity of their offences. Therefore, if one does not want to be punished, one has to abide by laws even when one is unwilling.

Such, in brief, is state power. Therefore, in order to occupy the position which will enable one to organize and conduct social life as one wishes, that is, the position of genuine master of society, one needs before anything else to seize state power. This is why it is said that state power is the basic factor determining the position and role of people.

In exploiter society the handful of exploiting classes rule it like a lord, whereas the popular masses who make up the greater part of the population have no right and are despised. This is precisely because state power is in the hands of the exploiting classes.

There will be no need to mention the slaveholding state or feudal state of the past for example. Let us take a look at the imperialist states of today.

We cite the imperialist countries by way of example because today the imperialists are advertising as if their state power were serving the interests of the entire people and some people take them at their word.

As you know, the imperialist countries have an amazingly enormous machinery of power to exercise state power. They have parliaments, organs of administration, army, police, prison and intelligence agencies.

Who control these huge bodies of power and who do they serve? Needless to say, the monopolists control them and these bodies are meant to give effect to their control over society. To be more exact, these organizations are an instrument for the monopolists to dominate, exploit and oppress the masses of the people.

The monopolists organize and conduct all aspects of social life in their interests through the medium of state power. The imperialists propagandize that the Presidents and parliaments are elected by the people and, accordingly, speak for their wishes. This is not true. The Presidents and parliaments are no more than servants of the monopolists. None of the Presidents of imperialist nations, I dare say, fail to give commitments during the election campaigns to eliminate unemployment, improve the people's living conditions and build a welfare society. And none of them have ever fulfilled their election pledges. In countries where state power is in the hands of monopolists, the election pledges cannot be carried out nor do the Presidents who are servants of monopolists have a mind to do so. By nature, the election commitments of the Presidents of imperialist countries are false promises to earn a popularity with the people and win the election The ex-President Carter of the United States had no sooner come into office than cast away his election pledges like an old hat. The readers know this well, I think.

The interests of the masses and the monopolists are antagonistic and in inverse proportion to each other. So, improvement of the people's livelihood entails an infringement on the interests of the monopolists. How can a state power in the service of monopolists do this kind of thing?

State power in the imperialist countries, far from promoting the people's welfare, suppresses them by force if they only come out for the elementary right for living. For instance, if people just go on a strike against the monopolists' inhuman exploitation, they are suppressed. But it is not known in any country's history that state power in imperialist nations sided with the people and punished a monopolist for his cruel exploitation

of the people. This shows that the state power in imperialist countries is not for the people but for a minority of monopolists.

In exploiter society the popular masses constitute a sweeping majority but are disinherited politically and subject to exploitation and oppression because they have no state power. Therefore, if the popular masses are to subordinate everything in society to their interests and forge history consciously as true masters of society, they must take state power into their own hands without fail.

For this purpose, they should also seize the means of production.

Without means of living, people cannot subsist nor develop. In this sense, we can say that the economy is the material basis of social life. Therefore, in order to become the genuine master of society, one should control the economic levers, and this requires having a grip on the means of production.

Now let me explain the reason briefly.

Production consists in men working on the objects of labour with implements. So production of an article requires means of production (namely, implements and objects of labour and so on) in addition to labour power. And the economy is controlled by those who are in possession of the means of production.

Why? The reason is simple.

In a society where the means of production are private property, those who have means of production have labour power at their command, but those who only have labour power have no access to means of production.

Suppose you are labourers in a capitalist country. You go to a factory after seeing a situation-vacant advertisement, and as the offered wages are too small, you say to the owner of the factory, "I want a little more because I can't work for that pay." To this the proprietor will probably answer, "You can take it or leave it. Do you think you're the only applicant for the position?" So, being labourers, you have no choice but to work for the small pay not to starve to death. In this way those who have means of production can freely employ labourers to continue with production. But people who have nothing but labour power cannot buy a machine because they have no money.

And the produce is appropriated by the owner of means of production rather than the labourers.

So, after all, the economy is controlled by those who own the means of production.

There is another reason why the owner of means of production dominates the economy Suppose you say to a capitalist, "I ask you to produce necessities of life instead of fancy goods that are not essential to human life " Then presumably he will retort, "It's none of your business what I make with my own goods," and screw up his eyes at you as if to say, "Aren't you crazy?"

In the long run, production is conducted according to the will of those who have the means of production, and the economy is controlled by them. This is why in exploiter society the proprietors of means of production live in grand style even without lifting a finger, but the people with no means of production suffer from poverty even though they work day and night.

Therefore, if the masses of the people are to become true masters of society, they should become the owners of means of production.

Why, then, have the popular masses failed to become the masters of state power and means of production in spite of their struggle over such long ages for emancipation from exploitation and oppression? If seizure of state power and means of production is the decisive condition for becoming true masters of society, they should have struggled for that end already from long ago.

The reason is that in the past the people's desire for independence and their creative power were not great enough to enable them to seize state power and means of production. Taking state power and means of production into the hands of the people signifies no less than establishing a socialist system. But the popular masses were not in a position to bring forward such a demand. The slaves and serfs lacked a scientific world view and were ignorant of the laws of development of society. How could they have ever thought of the socialist system? You should cut teeth to eat rice.

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It was not before the appearance of the working class on the scene of

history that the desire of the popular masses to control state power and means of production was awakened.

The working class has a high consciousness of independence and great creative power. Although the peasantry, too, is an exploited class in exploiter society, they have at least a hoe, if not more. But the working class have nothing. So in capitalist society they are more cruelly ground down than anyone else. This is why the working class are more keenly interested than anyone else in overthrowing the old social system and building a society free from exploitation and oppression. Moreover, because they work collectively in factories, they have a great capacity for united action and are sensitive to progressive ideas. Herein lies the reason why the working class acquire a higher consciousness of independence than anyone else and a creative power to lead all oppressed people to build an exploitation- and oppression-free communist society.

Of course, the working class was not aware from the first that in order to get free of exploitation and oppression, they had to take power and means of production into their hands. History shows that the struggle of the working class against capital started with sabotaging factories and machines. The struggle of the workers of the Lyons silk textile mill, France, known as the first violent thrust of the working class in history was very large in scale, but they did not advance the demand for seizing power and means of production. The same was the case with Chartism in England and all other early-stage working-class movements in various countries. I have already mentioned that the socialist thoughts were far from scientific when they were first put forward.

But the working class was gradually awakened and organizationally united through the practical struggle against capital and, at last, advanced the demand for mastery of power and ownership of means of production and purposefully waged the struggle against capital.

Only under the leadership of the working class that have a high consciousness of independence and creative ability can the popular masses be united firmly into a political force, overthrow the old exploiting system and become the true masters of the state and society.

The positions of the working class differ from country to country depending on the historical process they have passed through. But the

working class is the most revolutionary and progressive of all classes and social sections that make up the popular masses

In countries which were formerly colonies or semi-colonies and whose industries are underdeveloped, the working class is numerically small and has a short history. But by nature, the working class is most interested in building a new society which will provide a truly free and happy life to the masses of the people and is capable of building it.

Therefore, one must depend on the working class and ensure its leadership before anything else so as to build a truly new society free from exploitation and oppression. If one tries to build an exploitation- and oppression-free society without relying on the working class and ensuring its leadership, this is an idle dream or a fallacy.

Aspirations for an independent life are bound to develop into a desire for socialism under which the popular masses are the genuine masters of the state and society. Establishing the socialist system and then building a communist society where the Chajusong of the people is consummated are after all a process of remoulding all members of society on the pattern of the working class who have the greatest consciousness of independence and creative power

The position and role of the masses of the people as the main agency of history will rise tremendously when the whole of society is remodelled after the pattern of the working class under its leadership

3) LEADERSHIP AND THE MASSES

We have so far studied the truths that the masses of the people are the main agency of history, but that their position and role as such are not equal in all times and all societies and that in order to shape history consciously as its main agency they should become the masters of power and means of production.

Then, will the masses of the people be the masters of power and means of production by themselves in course of time? And if they only

become their masters, will they be able to shape history of their own accord? Only when we understand these questions can we say that we have gained a full comprehension of the principle that the popular masses are the main agency of history.

The Historical Lessons of the Paris Commune

A visitor to Montmartre in Paris will recall the fighters of the Paris Commune if he has only a little knowledge of this city. For the first time in history these fighters overthrew the reactionary exploiting system and took power into their own hands.

Materials written by thinkers, historians and writers about the Paris Commune are numerous, so I think it unnecessary to enlarge on it. I would limit myself to the most principal and most basic of all historical lessons of the Paris Commune in the light of the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea.

What, then, do these principles teach us?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"If they are to hold their position and fulfil their role as subject of history, the popular masses must be brought into contact with leadership." (*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

As aforesaid, history is made by the masses of the people, its main agency. But this never means that the masses can become the masters of history by themselves and fulfil their role as such.

If the masses are to become the true masters of history, they should first be ideologically awakened and united firmly into a political force. This is called making the masses conscious and organized. Although they are the main agency of history, they are incapable of anything before they become conscious and organized. There is the word "rabble", which means a disorderly, unawakened crowd.

The more revolutionarily the masses are awakened and the firmer they are united, the mightier they will become and the greater role they will play in the revolutionary movement. This is why the revolutionary movement begins with making the masses conscious and organized.

But the masses will not become conscious and organized by themselves. Exploitation and oppression will not spontaneously awaken people or unite them. In the past they were exploited and oppressed so cruelly, but why were they not awake to their positions nor united into a political force for a long time? There are people in this world who work as servants all their life, but, unconscious of their positions, regard their plight as ordained by fate. The readers living in capitalist society will easily find such people around them.

Leadership is imperatively necessary in order to awaken and organizationally unite people. Therefore, all kinds of social movements are bound up with pioneers who open the eyes of the masses and unite them. There has never been, and cannot be, a social movement without leadership. If ever some small project is to be undertaken in a village, it must have an initiator. Then, can the movement for remodelling society and advancing history go without leadership?

All socio-historical movements of the people which have contributed even a little to the onward march of history are associated with the names of their leaders. Large and small peasant movements, working-class movements and national-liberation movements which took place in various countries of the world had their leaders respectively. This, however, does not mean that all social and historical movements staged by the people in the past had correct leadership.

Almost all socio-historical movements of the people in the past had many weaknesses and limitations, which were most conspicuously revealed in their leadership. This was why all those movements were doomed to failure.

The question of leadership of the masses is attendant on all socio-historical movements, and it is all the more important in the case of the revolutionary movement for seizing state power and means of production and building a communist society, a society where there is no exploitation and oppression and the Chajusong of the people is fully realized. Because this revolutionary movement requires a higher consciousness and organization of the masses than any other ones and is attended by a fierce struggle against the exploiting classes.

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Therefore, its building presupposes a high level of consciousness of the people commensurate with it. The case is just as you need only to know how to operate the excavator in order to dig earth, but have to master sophisticated techniques to make machines. And in order to build a society of plenty for all free from exploitation and suppression, the entire people must unite firmly and wage an organized struggle, and this entails a higher level of organization on the part of the people than in any other revolutionary movements. The building of such a society will inevitably encounter the stubborn resistance of the exploiting classes. Breaking down such resistance and securing victory in the revolution requires a correct strategical and tactical leadership of the revolutionary movement.

In short, if the masses are to fulfil their role as the genuine masters of history and bring the revolutionary movement to a victorious conclusion, a scientific leadership is indispensable.

In this light, what is the most important historical lesson of the Commune of Paris? Let us trace the bloodstained footmarks of the Commune of Paris for a while.

The people of Paris including the workers who had been fighting against exploitation and oppression by capital started a revolution at last on March 18, 1871. They were enraged at the acts of the reactionary rulers of France who contracted a humiliating treaty of peace with the Prussian aggressors which provided for the payment of war indemnity of five milliard francs and cession of Alsace-Lorraine and sought to disarm the National Guard formed by the people to fight the invaders.

The revolution placed power in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard in Paris and on March 28 the Commune of Paris was proclaimed.

The Commune carried into effect a number of revolutionary measures. It dismissed the reactionary parliamentary setup and formed the General Council of the Commune composed of representatives of the people. It disbanded the reactionary army and police and founded the people's armed forces. The Commune transferred the factories and enterprises owned by the exploiting classes to the people's ownership and introduced a new wage system and taxation system. These revolutionary

measures clearly demonstrated the Commune's attempt to build a society free from exploitation and oppression.

The Parisians fought courageously against the resistance of the counter-revolutionary forces to safeguard the cause of the Commune. The workers and other sections of the citizens fought the bloody last-ditch battle during May 21-28 which is known as the "bloody week of May". Taking part in it were the citizens of Paris, including more than 10,000 women and even numerous children of only 7 or 8. Here is an episode showing the heroic struggle of the Parisians. Among a batch of Communards captured fighting at a barricade, there was a young boy. Before the shooting of the prisoners, the boy asked the enemies to give him time to go and bid his mother farewell, leaving his things with her. The soldiers thought this a ruse to run away, but granted his request. However, the boy returned as he had promised and called out to them to shoot him, standing by the already dead bodies of his comrades-in-arms

The people of Paris fought bravely like this But they were unable to stop the reactionary offensive, and the Commune met a tragic end with the termination of the last battle on Montmartre after only 72 days of existence.

How is it that the citizens of Paris failed to defend their power to the last in spite of their heroic struggle?

It is that they had no correct leadership This is the most cardinal of all historical lessons of the Commune of Paris.

For lack of a scientific leadership the Commune of Paris failed to secure a firm unity. Its General Council was torn between the "minority" of mainly Proudhonists and the "majority" controlled by the Left adventurist Blanquists. Divided in this way, the General Council of the Community was unable to unite the entire population of Paris into a political force and ensure unified leadership of the struggle.

Without a scientific leadership, the workers of Paris failed to awaken the broad masses of people including the peasantry and rally them to their side. Communes were organized in other cities such as Lyons and Marseilles, too, but the Commune of Paris did not actively establish ties with them. In particular, it failed to arouse the peasantry. Meanwhile, the reactionaries spread malicious rumours that "The Commune is a band

of confirmed murderers and plunderers" and that "The Commune is coveting after the land of farmers". Thus, they did everything to prevent the Commune of Paris and the local farming population from joining hands. As a result, the Parisian population including the workers had to fight against terrible odds in hopeless isolation. The reactionaries were a hundred times superior both numerically and in armament.

Since a scientific leadership was lacking, the workers and other sections of the people in Paris were devoid of a correct strategy and tactics in their fight. They did not give an unbroken pursuit to the enemies who were fleeing to Versailles and did not launch a decisive attack on Versailles, the bulwark of the reactionaries, in the early stage when they had a military superiority. This enabled the reactionaries to regroup their armed forces and attack Paris. Moreover, their troops were reinforced with their prisoners of war sent back by the Prussian army.

In the final analysis, lack of correct leadership was the cause of the failure of the Commune of Paris.

In the streets of Paris where verdure was now deepening, the flags of the Commune were no more to be seen and brutal white terrorist outrages of the reactionaries were rife. Everyone found to have had connections with the Commune was shot, whether male or female, young or old. Tens of thousands were arrested and sent to prison, exile, or the gallows.

The lessons of blood furnished by the Commune of Paris clearly demonstrated that even when the people rise in a nationwide struggle for Chajusong, they cannot perform their responsibility and role as masters of revolution if they are not guided by correct leadership.

The link between leadership and masses is indeed an indispensable condition for the popular masses to fulfil their responsibility and role as true masters of history. This is an immutable law of development of history.

The Leader Makes the People the True Masters of History

If leadership is the decisive condition for making the masses of the people the true masters of history, how is this condition to be provided?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"How the masses are awakened to consciousness and organized in a revolutionary way, and how they perform their revolutionary duties and historical mission, depend on whether or not they are given correct leadership by the party and the leader." (*Ibid.*, p. 18)

If the masses are to perform their responsibility and role as the main agency of history, they should equip themselves with independent revolutionary ideas and be united into a political force. And this requires that they are guided correctly by the leader. Why? The reason will be cleared by itself when the position and role of the leader in the revolutionary movement is explained.

All the socio-historical movements of the masses, at any rate, are linked with some leadership. Leadership immediately implies a leader.

Then, is he unconditionally a leader who directs a socio-historical movement of the masses?

No, this is not so. The leader is the person who leads the social movement of the people. But not all who direct the social movement are leader. In any social and historical movement there is always a person who guides it, but he is not necessarily the leader.

History knows many revolutionary movements without leaders. Revolutionary movements of the people in the past experienced failures and vicissitudes precisely because they were not guided by leaders.

Certain books tend to identify the person who guides this or that kind of social movement with the leader. This error is due mainly to the lack of a correct idea of leader and, in some cases, they are denoted by the same word probably because of the limitations of the vocabulary, the result being that the readers are confused in their conception of the two.

Therefore, our readers are requested to remember that the leader and the person who guides this or that kind of social movement are fundamentally different.

What, then, is the position of the leader in the revolutionary movement?

In brief, the leader is the highest brain of the people, the centre of unity and cohesion and the supreme guider of the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong. This explains the position of the leader.

The leader is the highest brain of the people. This means that the leader occupies the same place as the brain in the human body.

The brain regulates and controls all functions of the organism of the man. Because he has a brain, the man feels hungry and eats food, and feels fatigue in the legs on the road and takes a rest. Likewise, it is the leader that regulates and controls the functions of the enormous organism called the masses of the people.

The intentions and demands of the people converge at the leader. This is similar to all physiological requirements arising in various parts of the living organism being reflected in the brain. In this sense, the leader is the supreme representative and embodiment of the interests of the masses. This is why the thought and intention of the leader immediately represent the unanimous will of the popular masses.

Correctly reflecting the will of the people, the leader indicates the orientation and ways for its realization. This can be likened to the brain which, upon accepting the physiological demands of the organism, gives directions to different parts of it to satisfy these demands. The masses of the people can bring their intentions and demands into effect only when they act in conformity with the orientation and ways shown by the leader. Such is the meaning of the statement that the leader is the highest brain of the people.

Now, then, what is the meaning of the saying that the leader is the centre of unity and cohesion of the people?

It is that when they unite around the leader, they can achieve genuine unity and cohesion.

Can the people unite without the centre just because they are told to fuse into one unconditionally? If they are to be united firmly into a

political force, there must be the core without fail. And the leader alone can be this centre of unity. Because the unity and cohesion of the masses can be achieved only when there is a common end and interests, and the very leader is the supreme representative of such end and interests.

The Parisian population including the workers were not united into a political force because they had no leader as the centre of unity.

There will be no need of lengthy explanation about the fact that the leader is the supreme guider of the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong The popular struggle for Chajusong is a difficult and complex task and, accordingly, requires sophisticated leadership. And only the leader who is the highest brain of the people, the centre of unity and cohesion and has a superb capacity of guidance is capable of such leadership.

Then, can everybody become such a leader? No, not everyone.

Only a great thinker and theoretician, only a charismatic guider who has a command of seasoned art of leadership can become the leader. He should be long-sighted more than anyone else and capable of showing the right course of social progress and revolutionary development with his extraordinary sagacity, scientific insight, a rich knowledge of nature and society and practical experiences

Only a revolutionary and father of the people can become the leader, who has a boundless loyalty to the revolution, strong revolutionary will, unexampled driving energy, fidelity to principle unshaken in any adversity, an uncompromising spirit of fight against the enemies of the people and a warm love for the people

Where there is a revolutionary movement of the masses, there will always be a person who guides it. But not every revolutionary movement has a leader.

Take the revolutionary struggle of the working class for example.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class in Europe has a long history. But it had no leader before the appearance of Marx and Engels. The European working class found their leaders for the first time in Marx and Engels

A man cannot be a leader even though he poses as one. More, a leader cannot be elected like a President. The entire people hail him as such because of his uncommon qualities and immortal deeds he has accomplished for them.

What, then, is the role of the leader in the revolutionary movement?

First of all, he originates the guiding ideas of revolution reflecting correctly the independent requirements and interests of the masses and shows them the path of revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary struggle for the Chajusong of the masses is arduous and complex, and so cannot go off well without a correct guiding idea. In the past the masses of the people struggled so tenaciously for freedom and liberation, but failed to attain their objects chiefly because they had no correct guiding idea. Without a correct guiding idea one will be at a loss which way to go and how in the revolutionary struggle and, accordingly, will be unable to find correct solutions to the problems arising in the revolution and construction.

And such scientific guiding ideas can only be originated by an outstanding leader. It is true that the individuals who make up the masses can also advance various ideas and views according to their knowledge and practical experiences. But these ideas and views are always fragmentary and incomplete. So the experiences and knowledge of individuals, no matter how rich, cannot give a guiding idea for the revolutionary struggle before they are summed up, analyzed and scientifically generalized. In other words, they can be materials for creating and enriching scientific guiding ideas, but cannot serve in themselves as guiding ideas.

The task of originating the guiding ideas of revolution by scientifically generalizing the rich experiences of the popular masses and, on this basis, finding out the path ahead of the times and the people, belongs entirely to the leader who has rare endowments and rich fighting experiences and is capable of providing a unified guidance to the revolutionary struggle of the people. By creating the guiding ideas of revolution in this way, the leader prepares the ideological and spiritual pabulum for the masses to fulfil their responsibility and role as the masters of history.

Further, the leader makes the masses the masters of the revolution,

the true masters of history, by infusing them with consciousness and organizing them.

If the masses are to be the masters of revolution and history, they should be awakened revolutionarily. Without revolutionary awakening, the masses cannot rise in a revolutionary struggle and, even if they participate in the revolution spontaneously, cannot play a big part What a great part they play in the revolutionary struggle is decided by how much conscious they have become.

The readers may have seen the revolutionary opera *Sea of Blood* or the film *Sea of Blood*. These are adaptations from the immortal classical play *Sea of Blood* produced and staged during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle organized and guided by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. They give an impressive depiction of what a great thing an ordinary illiterate rural woman tied down to her household is capable of once she is revolutionarily awakened.

But it is not an easy task awakening the masses of the people to the revolution Exploitation and oppression in exploiter society do not spontaneously bring revolutionary consciousness to the people or addresses of instructions once or twice will not settle the matter. Worse still, *the exploiting classes use every possible means and method to keep the masses from revolutionary awakening* There are all sorts of mouthpiece media of communication in imperialist countries, and they, like the governments, are in the service of the monopolists. They make it their regular business to turn the masses of the people into ideological and spiritual slaves of the exploiting classes by means of fair words and false propaganda. Former Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda of Nazi Germany Goebbels known as a master-hand at propaganda deceived and fooled the German people with unscrupulous false propaganda in accordance with the Nazi creed that "The bigger lie you tell, the more the people will believe you," and "Tell a lie a hundred times, and it will pass as a truth." Probably the readers must have heard of this.

In the imperialist countries education whose mission it is to bring up people to be independent and creative beings is used for making them the slaves of capital, and art which ought to serve the creative activities of

human beings to remodel the world is made an instrument for turning people into animal beings, spiritless, deformed and addicted to debauchery and immorality. Owing to this evil practised by the exploiting classes, people in capitalist society are subject to the ideological influence of those classes, which obstructs their revolutionary awakening.

This makes the work of awakening the people to the revolution difficult. Awakening the people necessitates revolutionary organizations, pioneers capable of skilful work among them and also polished methods of work.

Besides creating revolutionary ideas, the leader prepares all necessary conditions for bringing revolutionary awakening to the masses of the people. Thus, as a result of the leader's energetic activities, the masses are awakened and grow up to be the masters of the revolution.

The leader rears the masses to be the masters of revolution by rousing them to class consciousness in them and, further, organizing them.

The strength of the masses abides in union.

In the aforesaid revolutionary opera *Sea of Blood* there is a song worded in part:

A branch of bush clover snaps with ease,
But a big tree cannot be broken.
All women united in strength,
Can defeat any enemy.

When firmly united into a single political force, the masses can display a really great strength, but when divided, they can accomplish nothing. There are numerous instances of the grievous fact that for lack of unity, the masses of the people were defeated one by one by the enemy. If the German people were united as one in the past, they could have checked the thrust of the Nazis and avoided the tragedy of tens of millions of people falling victims to their pogrom.

But it is not easy either to unite the masses into a single political force. The masses comprise workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of other

sections Therefore, not all of the masses are the same in their positions Since their positions vary, their attitudes to the revolution differ. The barehanded worker cannot be the same as the peasant who has a patch of land, however tiny, and the man who keeps a shop, even if it is no more than a booth, cannot be the same as the worker and the peasant. In order to make revolution, one must unite all of such people, and this requires a thought and an organization which can rally people in different positions.

Now it is an outstanding leader who can unite all these people into a single political force by creating a revolutionary thought which expresses the interests of all the people and founding various revolutionary organizations including the Party.

True, even if there is no leader, this or that kind of thought can be originated and this or that kind of revolutionary organization can be formed But such a thought cannot express the common interests of the people, and a revolutionary organization which is not guided by a correct revolutionary thought can on no account unite them firmly History has already proved this clearly

A thought valid enough to knit people together and a revolutionary organization capable of uniting them into a revolutionary force can only be created by a prominent leader.

Further, the leader exercises a unified control over the people's revolutionary struggle and guides it straight to victory through seasoned leadership.

The revolutionary struggle for Chajusong forges its way along a rough and rugged path

The path of revolution bristles with countless difficulties and trials and innumerable knotty problems will crop up in its course. I think the readers are well aware what a stormy and tortuous path the national-liberation struggles of the colonial peoples have traversed. So, in order to steer the revolutionary struggle of the people to victory, seasoned leadership should be ensured throughout its course.

And this leadership can only be provided by the leader, the highest brain of the popular masses, the centre of unity and cohesion and the supreme guider. The leader puts forward a correct fighting slogan and fighting policy at every stage and epoch of the revolutionary struggle and

wisely guides the masses of the people to put them into reality. The revolutionary struggle of the people will advance triumphantly thanks to this very revolutionary role of the leader.

In a nutshell, if the masses are to fulfil their responsibility and role as the masters of the revolution and history, they should be guided by a prominent leader. This is an unquestioned truth established by history.

Here is a point I should like to mention before passing on farther. It is that we must not confound the role of the leader and that of individuals in the development of history.

The leader is the highest brain of the masses representing the latter as a whole but not an individual. Therefore, the role of the leader in the development of history is inseparably united with the role of the masses. In other words, the role of the masses is inconceivable apart from the leader's role. Because the leader is the highest brain of the masses, his role determines the latter's role.

But an individual, however preeminent, is no more than a member of the people. Needless to say, a distinguished individual may possibly leave conspicuous marks in historical movement. History records many progressive personalities who played an affirmative part in the revolutionary movement. Among them are politicians, generals, artists and writers. But no matter how great their role may have been in the development of history, it stands no comparison with the role played by the masses of the people and, still more, cannot determine the role of the latter. In other words, it cannot govern the masses' role.

Of course, this is not to say that preeminent individuals exercise no influence on the masses of the people. Some influence is exerted on the masses by generals through their military activities and by artists through their artistic activities. But the role of individuals produces influence, at all events, on some particular aspects of the popular activities or on some separate groups of people, but does not determine the role of the masses as a whole.

I am afraid my explanation is going to be somewhat lengthy. In a word, only when the masses are guided by a prominent leader can they build a communist society, the highest goal of humanity, and realize their

long-cherished desire for Chajusong

Now I think I have given a broad outline of the principle that the masses of the people are the main agency of history, the principle which can be regarded as most fundamental among the socio-historical principles elucidated by the Juche idea.

To sum up once more, history is always shaped by the masses of the people, but their position and role in developing history vary with the time and society, and although they are the main agency of history, the masses can shape history consciously in accordance with their wishes and demands as its genuine masters only when they are guided by an outstanding leader.

Today the masses of the people have emerged on the scene as the masters of history, as the masters of the revolution and construction and are transforming the world to meet their needs better The masses of the people stand firm as the central figure in the historical development of our time. Hundreds of millions of people who have suffered from exploitation and oppression for long ages are now advancing vigorously along the road of independence, sovereignty and social progress, playing an increasing role in carving out the destiny of humanity and the future of the world

It is the irresistible basic trend of the present epoch that the masses of the people who have come forward as undisputed masters of their own destiny are shaping a new history of mankind by remodelling the world in conformity with their aspirations and requirements.

2. HUMAN HISTORY IS A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR CHAJUSONG

That human history is a history of the people's struggle for

Chajusong is the second socio-historical principle explained by the Juche idea.

What, then, is the law of the socio-historical movement clarified by this principle? This principle throws light on the essence of the socio-historical movement.

From this principle we can derive correct answers to the questions: what is the aim of the socio-historical movement?; what is the main orientation of development of history?; what is the course of development of social history?; and what is to be done to act in consonance with the essence of the socio-historical movement?

It can be said that the principle that human history is a history of the people's struggle for Chajusong is closely connected with, and proceeds from, the principle that the main agency of history is the masses of the people. Therefore, I hope that the readers will read the following section in association with the aforesaid.

1) WHERE IS THE GREAT RIVER OF HISTORY FLOWING TO?

To Follow the Path of Independence Is the Irresistible Trend of History

People often compare history to a flowing river, and this is not for nothing. A river continues to flow down, now meandering through green hills and open fields, now passing by towns and villages. Sometimes the river rages and turbulently rushes down and other times courses its way tranquilly.

Just like a river, the course of history now passes through a dark age, now an age of civilization and enlightenment. Sometimes it roars like angry waves and other times flows quiet in a lull.

As the flow of the Taedong River of Korea differs from the Nile of

Egypt and the Amazon of Brazil, so the historical courses of all nations differ from each other.

Where, then, is the constantly-flowing great river of history heading for?

In the world there are so many history books as well as books on the law of development of history. But all these books will hardly give the readers a correct answer to this question.

Such things as the inexorable orientation of development of history will be totally out of the question to those who consider that history is created by the will of a certain mysterious "being" or an "outstanding person" and its course changes with the caprices of kings or queens. In their eyes the course of history is always enveloped in a thick fog, and so it is quite impossible to judge where it is steering for. To feudal and bourgeois historians the course of history remains a riddle for ever.

Marxism defined that the history of mankind is a history of class struggle and thus shattered unscientific views on human history

What is the view of the socio-historical principles of Juche on this problem?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"The history of human society is the history of the struggle of the popular masses to defend and realize Chajusong." (*Ibid*., p 19)

Human history is a history of the masses' struggle for Chajusong This is precisely the essence of the socio-historical movement Just as a river flows into the boundless ocean, so the great river of history courses its way all the time in the direction in which the Chajusong of the people is realized, towards the future society where their Chajusong is fully materialized. This is the main direction in which history is developing.

In the course of thousands of years of history nature, society and people changed beyond recognition owing to the socio-historical movement of the masses In the history museums arranged scientifically to some extent, we feel once more keenly how much human society has changed in thousands of years. The people who entered the ancient society after the long prehistoric age developed society step by step by their creative labour

and struggle. As a result, human society has developed from slaveholding to feudal and then to capitalist society. Today hundreds of millions of people are already living in socialist society. In this course of historical development people have remaked nature to an amazing extent and created enormous material and cultural wealth. In this course man himself has also changed.

What do all these changes which have taken place on the earth in the course of historical development show? Why have the people brought about these changes in nature and society and carried history forward?

Needless to say, they have done so to realize Chajusong, their social attribute.

The people have accomplished so enormous a work to extricate themselves from all fetters and bondages of nature and society and lead an independent and creative life. This shows that human history is a history of struggle in the course of which the masses of the people have transformed nature, society and man to realize their Chajusong.

The socio-historical movement is essentially a struggle for the Chajusong of the popular masses, and history has continuously advanced and is advancing in the direction of its realization.

Let me further discuss theoretically the reason why human history is a history of the people's struggle for Chajusong.

The reason is, first, that the socio-historical movement which advances history is a movement for the Chajusong of the popular masses.

The history of mankind is created and developed by the socio-historical movement. So, the end of human history hinges on the aim of the socio-historical movement.

What, then, is the aim of the socio-historical movement?

We have already noted that the main agency of the socio-historical movement is the masses of the people. Therefore, the object of this movement will be determined by the aspirations and desire of the masses. Now the question is clear. The people aspire to an independent life. Therefore, the aim of the socio-historical movement cannot be otherwise than realizing the Chajusong of the masses. Human history which is

created and developed by the socio-historical movement aimed at realizing the Chajusong of the masses is, in the final analysis, a history of struggle for their Chajusong.

The reason is, secondly, that history changes and develops due to the struggle of the masses.

The change and development of history mean no less than the change and development of nature, society and man. The historical change and development are by no means a mere unsubstantial flow of time.

What is the cause of change and development of nature, society and man?

It is the struggle of the masses As a result of the struggle of the people, the social system is transformed, nature is mastered and all material and cultural wealth is produced In the process of struggle to transform nature and society, the masses continue to be prepared better as more powerful beings In a word, the change of nature, society and man is attributable to the struggle of the masses By virtue of their struggle the social system has changed from the slaveholding to the feudal, then to the capitalist and, further, to the socialist system Stone implements were replaced by bronze wares, and the latter by iron wares, and such modern machines as we see today have been made All this is ascribable to the struggle of the masses

Why, then, do the masses struggle to transform nature and society?

The main point lies here. Doubtlessly, they do so to achieve their Chajusong. The socio-historical movement which pushes history forward is caused by the independent demands of the popular masses and developed by their struggle to meet them.

In short, since the socio-historical movement is a movement conducted by the popular masses, its main agency, to realize their Chajusong, the basic direction of development of history which is propelled by this *movement is oriented inevitably towards the realization of Chajusong.* An arrow always flies in the direction in which it is shot by the archer. When history is created by the masses, how can it run away from their aspirations?

Even though history may go through many turns and twists, it will run along the course desired by the masses, in the direction in which their Chajusong is realized. This is an inexorable law of history. Therefore, as it is impossible to block a great river flowing into the ocean, so no force can stop the onward movement of history towards Chajusong.

The Real Meaning of the Revolution

What is the revolution?

The revolutionary movement is also a form of socio-historical movement. So, I think this question has in fact been explained in the main in the foregoing section. But since the revolutionary movement is the most important element of the socio-historical movement and the revolutionary struggle is the most important of all movements which push forward history, I think it necessary to have a deeper knowledge of the revolutionary struggle in order to understand correctly the socio-historical principles of Juche.

What is the revolution? At present, as in the past, views on this question differ with people.

Some people say that they want to see all people live freely and happily and that they are building a society to that end, but they are afraid of the revolution. They seem to take the revolution for something destructive of everything without discrimination. Surely, some of the revolutionaries in the past acted rashly clamouring about "struggle", "liquidation", "overthrow" and what not, without a correct idea of the principle of the revolution. Therefore, if people only see the doings of such "revolutionaries" and fail to use their reason in judging things, they may well be afraid of the revolution.

There are some people who are afraid of the revolution for want of a correct knowledge of it, and there are others who usurp the name of revolution to deceive the people and win their favour. For example, the stooges of the imperialists give the sacred name of revolution to the "military coups" which aim to overthrow the govern-

ments of progressive countries that are advancing along the road of anti-imperialism and independence. Therefore, we must say that a correct understanding of the revolution is very important in order to oppose the bogus revolution and ensure success for the genuine revolution

Marxism said that the revolution is a change of the social system. In other words, it said that the struggle to replace the old social system with a new one is revolution This was a theory enunciated on the basis of a scientific generalization of the historical experiences of the revolution which overthrew the old social system and established a new one

The Juche idea has given a new scientific conception of the revolution on the basis of a new idea of man and the rich experiences of all revolutionary activities of our times

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"The leader said that all revolutionary struggles are struggles of the popular masses to defend their Chajusong." (*Ibid* p 19)

As the readers know, the revolutionary struggle assumes different forms. Some revolutionary struggles bring about the change of the social system and others not Thus, the revolutionary struggles taking on different forms, their concrete tasks, too, differ from each other However, all revolutionary struggles have one thing in common, and it is that they are aimed at realizing the Chajusong of the people The struggles waged by the people in the past against the feudal system, the capitalist system and the colonial system of imperialism were all aimed at the achievement of their Chajusong

Why, then, are all revolutionary struggles aimed at realizing the Chajusong of the people?

The reason is that man is a social being that regards Chajusong as his life and soul.

Therefore, the end of all human activities is the achievement of Chajusong. All endeavours of man, whether physical labour or socio-political activities, are designed for the realization of Chajusong. The revolutionary struggle is also meant to attain the Chajusong of the people. Herein lies the main object of the revolutionary struggle. Hence, all

revolutionary struggles are aimed at the realization of the Chajusong of the people.

In this connection a question may be raised. If all revolutionary struggles are aimed at realizing the Chajusong of the masses, why are these struggles waged in various forms?

In a word, because revolutionary struggles take place in different socio-economic conditions.

When conditions change, things reveal themselves in a different light, although their essence remains unchanged. When a mass of solid iron is heated at a high temperature (this is a condition), it will be melted into liquid. But its essence as iron does not change. This means that when conditions change, things manifest themselves as different phenomena although their essence does not change.

The same is true of the revolutionary movement. Although all revolutionary struggles are in essence struggles for the Chajusong of the popular masses, this essence reveals itself in different forms when the socio-economic conditions change.

The history of mankind has witnessed various revolutions by now: the struggle which overthrew the slave system and gave rise to the feudal system, the bourgeois revolution (the bourgeois democratic revolution belongs to this category) which established the capitalist system after overturning the feudal system, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution (sometimes called national-liberation democratic revolution) which set up the people's democratic system after doing away with colonial rule, the socialist revolution which brought about the socialist system after overthrowing the capitalist system, and the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—to be continued after the establishment of the socialist system. Of these revolutions some bring about a change in the social system whereas others serve to consolidate and develop the established social system rather than changing it.

The differentiated forms in the revolutionary struggle are due, as previously stated, to the different socio-economic conditions of it and, accordingly, to the different tasks it should solve and the different results it is to produce.

For example, under the feudal system the struggle of the masses for Chajusong manifested itself as a struggle against feudal exploitation and oppression In feudal society feudal exploitation and oppression is the basic factor trampling upon the Chajusong of the masses, and so the struggle for Chajusong cannot be waged otherwise. This revolutionary struggle gives birth to the capitalist system as a replacement of the feudal system. Hence it is called the bourgeois revolution. Then, the socialist revolution is carried on under conditions in which the capitalist socio-economic relations predominate. Here, the struggle of the people for Chajusong is directed against exploitation and oppression by capital As a result of the revolution, the capitalist system is abolished and the socialist system established. Hence it is called the socialist revolution

As is clear from this, although all revolutionary struggles are waged for the Chajusong of the popular masses, they take different forms because of the different socio-economic conditions

Now, then, when does the revolutionary struggle lead to the change of the social system and when not?

In a society where state power and the means of production are in the hands of the reactionary exploiting classes and, accordingly, exploitation and oppression is institutional, it is inevitable that the revolutionary struggle brings about the change of the social system.

This is the case with all exploiter societies Let me refer to colonial society—a society that I believe many of the readers know by experience

The colonial system is a social system under which the imperialists and their cat's paws monopolize power and the means of production In this society all means of production are in the hands of the imperialists and the handful of their stooges. Therefore, willing or unwilling, the people in colonies are compelled to work under them for a living and so are unavoidably exploited. Because the imperialists' and their minions' ownership of the means of production is protected by law, colonial exploitation is fixed as an institution. On top of it, the colonial people have no political power. So, however severely they are exploited and mal-

treated, they have no quarter to turn to for complaint. Under such conditions, the colonial people have no alternative but to overthrow colonial rule itself to extricate themselves from exploitation and oppression. Therefore, the revolution in colonial countries inevitably results in the change of the social system.

The revolutions in feudal and capitalist society, too, may differ in their specific conditions, but have one thing in common, which is the change of the social system.

But the revolution in socialist society is totally different from this.

In socialist society state power and the means of production are owned by the people and, accordingly, there is no exploitation and oppression. Therefore, the revolution in socialist society will not present the problem of replacement of the social system. There is no reason why a social system under which the popular masses are the masters has to be replaced by another social system.

Then, some people may ask: why is the revolution needed when the masses are the masters and there is no exploitation and oppression?

Although there is no exploitation and oppression in socialist society, there are various remnants of the old society, which prevent the full realization of the Chajusong of the masses. Therefore, the revolution is continued to do away with the remnants of the old society.

In socialist society, the revolution is carried on not for changing the social system but for consolidating and developing the established social system and fully realizing the Chajusong of the masses by eliminating the remnants of the old society.

To conclude, all revolutionary struggles are, in essence, struggles to bring about the Chajusong of the masses, and their diverse forms are manifestations of this essence. This is the new conception of the essence of revolution clarified by the socio-historical principles of Juche.

By the way, the Juche idea interprets the cause of the revolution in the

light of the people's demand for Chajusong. In other words, the Juche idea holds that the revolution breaks out because the Chajusong of the people is trampled upon and shackled.

As a Korean saying goes, "Tread on a worm and it will turn." When his Chajusong is infringed upon, man whose life and soul is Chajusong will not remain silent. Where there is oppression, there will always be resistance and a revolutionary struggle is bound to take place. This is a law of human society

In a word, it is because the Chajusong of the people is violated and fettered that the revolution breaks out.

It is obvious, therefore, that the change of government through the scramble for power in capitalist countries or the "military coup" staged by the imperialist stooges in the newborn independent countries is not a revolution.

To overthrow a progressive government which follows the road of anti-imperialism and independence is not a revolution but a counter-revolution. Anything which is not aimed at the achievement of the people's Chajusong and, accordingly, does not bring about an affirmative change in their position and role cannot be a revolution.

If one really wishes for the freedom and happiness of the people, he should welcome and make the revolution because the revolution is a work to realize the Chajusong of the popular masses To say one is working for the people while fearing or avoiding the revolution is a sheer misconception or a lie

Reactionary exploiters say that the revolution is a reckless destructive business. This is rubbish designed to fool the people Of course, the revolution overthrows the reactionary exploiting system, for without doing so it is impossible to realize the Chajusong of the masses of the people. The revolution destroys the old and reactionary things but instead creates new things for the popular masses.

The revolutionary struggle is a work for creating the new About this more detailed remarks will be made later. Look at the countries of the newly emerging forces that are seething with a new life On the foundations they laid newly after overthrowing the imperialist colonial

system, many things are being created for the freedom and welfare of the people. Such is precisely the revolution.

The revolution sometimes requires bloodshed or heart-rending sacrifices. But because the revolution is the only salvation, the people make revolution in disregard of sacrifices.

The new view enunciated by the Juche idea that all revolutionary struggles are. in essence. struggles for the Chajusong of the popular masses, is a great banner inspiring the masses with a deep consciousness of the correctness and solemnity of their cause and encouraging them to carry on the revolutionary struggle purposefully and fully convinced of victory until the day when their Chajusong will be completely achieved.

2) WHAT IS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CHAJUSONG?

We have so far studied that human history is a history of struggle for the people's Chajusong.

What, then, is the substance of this struggle? In other words, what are the historical tasks that must be solved to bring about the people's Chajusong?

The socio-historical principles of Juche give a scientific exposition of the substance of the struggle for Chajusong.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"The transformation of society, nature, and people is the main elements of the masses' struggle for Chajusong. Man can realize Chajusong completely only when he is free from social bondage, natural fetters, and the shackles of outdated ideas and culture." (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

The struggle for the Chajusong of the masses comprises the endeavours for transforming society, nature and man. These three kinds of endeavours are major components of the struggle for Chajusong.

Why are they its major components?

It is because elements shackling the Chajusong of the people are found in society and nature and in people themselves.

Only when the masses of the people are freed from social bondage, natural fetters and the old ideas and cultural backwardness of people themselves is it possible to realize their Chajusong completely. This is why the struggle for Chajusong covers all spheres of social transformation, nature-remaking and human remoulding.

Now let me discuss this problem point by point.

Social Transformation

Old tales often refer to a world where all people enjoy a happy life. Those tales differ from each other in their details, but have same mutual resemblance in that there is "another world" somewhere, in which the inhabitants know no worries about food because all kinds of grains and fruits thrive, there is no sick person because a rare elixir of life is to be had, and all live in harmony because there is no evil man. This is of course a fantastic story divorced from the reality. But this shows beyond any doubt that people have dreamed of a "Utopia" since remote antiquity. It is quite natural that people should have cherished such a fantasy, not knowing the way to work out their destiny while suffering from the fetters of nature and bondage of society.

As the people's independent consciousness and creative ability grew with the development of society, they gradually overcame the fantasy about a "Utopia" and began to face the reality.

The *Tale of Hong Gil Dong* is a mediaeval novel of Korea. Its leading character Hong Gil Dong is an illegitimate son of a nobleman Unable to bear the insult and humiliation heaped on him because of his mean birth, he runs away from home and becomes the leader of a band of "thieves" (The feudal officials applied this name to the peasant rebels) He deprives feudal nobles of their properties and distributes them among the poor. Later he goes over to a far-off country, "Ryuldoguk", where he builds a

"Utopian society" for all its population to live well, and he himself lives in splendour there ever after. This "Utopian society" is different from the "Utopia" known in the tales of the earlier times where there is a wonderful elixir of life and people have no worry about food even without working because a grain of rice is as big as a fist. This "Utopian society" is free from tyrannical aristocratic bureaucrats who grind down the peasants or from the harsh caste system. It is a society where all people work diligently and live in plenty. This shows that this "Utopian society" is less fantastic to some extent than the "another world" appearing in the former tales. But all the same, this "Utopian society" is but an idle fancy. It is because the writer of the novel did not propose refashioning the actually existing society of absurdity but dreamed of going to the land of "Ryuldoguk", a country of his own invention, and building a society there where all people would enjoy an affluent life thanks to the good administration of a "kind-hearted king".

When compared with this story, Utopian socialism is a further development of the people's dream of the "Utopian society", for it denied capitalist society existing in reality and thought of building a different kind of society which is free from exploitation and oppression. As previously stated, Utopian socialism ended in a dream because its authors attempted to build a socialist society by appealing to the good will of the rulers instead of transforming the existing society revolutionarily.

In short, although people had dreamed of a "Utopian society", no thinker including the Utopian socialists realized that the popular masses should first transform society in a revolutionary way to achieve their Chajusong.

The Marxist theory was the first to assert that in order to free the people from exploitation and oppression, it is essential to remodel the social system in a revolutionary way.

Having elucidated for the first time in history that the struggle of the people for Chajusong covers all spheres of social remodelling, nature-remaking and human remoulding, the Juche idea fully explained what is the position of the struggle for social transformation in the struggle for Chajusong and how the task of social transformation would be solved.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The primary question arising in the struggle of the popular masses for Chajusong is to realize Chajusong socially and politically." (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

Why is the transformation of society the primary task in the struggle for the people's Chajusong?

There are two principal reasons.

One is that man is a social being.

As mentioned above, socio-political life is most important for man. When he forfeits his socio-political life, he is no better than an animal and as good as dead as a social creature

Socio-political life distinguishes man from an animal Animals, too, have physical life, the only difference from human beings lying in the way of maintaining it. For man, to maintain physical life is not the end in itself but is a means of living independently as a social creature The real worth of man is in his socio-political life This is why people do not treat as human those who betray the country and the nation to spare their own skin and who eat the bread of idleness without doing anything for society, and the revolutionaries would rather die fighting than live as slaves. This implies that socio-political Chajusong is most important in the Chajusong of people. And it is realized only when they transform society and become the masters of power and the means of production Herein lies the reason why we say that the struggle for social transformation is most important in the struggle for Chajusong

The other is that only when people attain socio-political Chajusong can they be completely free from the fetters of nature and develop ideologically and culturally.

Even if the masses develop the productive forces and produce an abundance of material wealth, they cannot receive benefits from it while they are held in bondage socially and politically. Slaves and serfs worked like draught animals, but were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour because they were subordinated to the exploiting classes In other words, because they were not free from social bondage

It was not due to idleness that in the bygone days the people in colonies lived in poverty. They worked harder than anybody else. Nevertheless, they had to live in the most needy circumstances because

they were subjected to others socially and politically and dispossessed of all that they created. The same can be said of the Western imperialist countries. These countries have relatively developed productive forces. But are their workers and farmers well-off correspondingly? No, they are not. Indeed, we can admit that their living standard is a little higher than that of backward countries on the average. But if one takes it that the people of these countries have a considerable share of the fruits of their labour, this is a gross mistake. The gulf between rich and poor in these countries is wider than at any other places. This means that they are stripped of almost all of what they have created. One should remember that the number of people who are shelterless and living on a starvation diet is countless in these countries. On the other hand, the capitalists and bureaucrats who do not know what work is have many gorgeous mansions and villas and lavish money like water on a fast living. Why things turn out like this? It is because although the people are producers, they fail to be the masters of society, subjected to the capitalists.

Once the imperialists and their minions noisily clamoured about "people's capitalism". Some people may question the use of bringing up the bygone, but it will not be meaningless altogether, because even now the imperialists love to describe theirs as a "welfare society" where all people live comfortably. In short, this "theory" preaches that the imperialism of today, unlike that of the past, is capitalism which promotes the well-being of all people. The advocates of this "theory" put forward various "grounds" to prove it. Although it was not worth mentioning some people would lend an ear to it. So, let me take only one example.

One of the "grounds" the advocates of "people's capitalism" put forward is that the distinction between the worker and the capitalist has now disappeared because in some imperialist countries the worker is also allowed to buy shares freely, and if he has them, he is entitled to participate in profits.

If the worker buys a few shares, can he eat the bread of idleness like the capitalist? If this were possible, those countries would have gone under before "people's capitalism" was realized. If one can live an idle life when he buys a few shares, who will work? When nobody works, society will inevitably go to ruin. Workers who can afford to buy shares are few. And

even though they buy some of them, they are unable to live idle. Therefore, even if they buy some shares, workers remain workers as ever and cannot be capitalists. Capitalists sell shares to workers not to divide profits among them but to plunder them further. The capitalists scrape up what money the workers have by means of shares and expand production for more profits, which are created not by the former but by the latter.

This shows that workers' purchase of shares gives opportunity for the capitalists to exploit workers still more. Compared with the profits the capitalists derive from expanding production with the money they scrape together from the workers by selling them shares, the latter's gains by shares are a mere pittance This means that the workers lose more than they gain by purchasing shares.

Under the capitalist economic system which is aimed at earning profits things cannot turn out otherwise "People's capitalism" is an invention to camouflage the reactionary nature of the capitalist system and intensify the exploitation of the people

Statistical data show that the per-capita national income of a number of Western capitalist countries is higher than that of other countries. But this does not mean that the living standard of the people is that much high. The living standard of their working people is too low considering the large national income. The reason is that the greater part of the national income goes into the hands of capitalists. That the national income is large means that the workers are producing so much material wealth. But they receive only very small part of what they produce. Strictly speaking, the workers of the Western capitalist countries today go in for a smaller share of their production than the slaves of ancient society or the peasants of the mediaeval ages. So, purely from the economic point of view there is no ground for stating that the workers of the Western capitalist countries are less exploited than the slaves or serfs

The point I would like to make here is that without socio-political Chajusong, the people are denied the benefit of even the highly developed productive forces

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When they are deprived of socio-political Chajusong and fail to be the masters of society, the people cannot develop ideologically and culturally, either.

Take the problem of education for example. The ideological and cultural advancement of people presupposes proper education. But the masses of the people cannot receive proper education unless they become the masters of society. In the third-world countries now engaged in building a new society the problem of training cadres is raised as a very serious matter. This is because their people had no opportunity of education under the rule of imperialists.

Today in some capitalist countries "compulsory education" is enforced. But this is no more than a trick. Even though they proclaim the introduction of "compulsory education" by law, what good is it when it is impossible to receive education without money?

Compulsory education can be substantial only when it is free. Truly free education for the people is impossible where the masses are not the masters of society.

In the imperialist countries even school is a means of money-making. In the Western capitalist countries which boast of civilization, educational expenditures usually account for a negligible portion of their state budgets. Newspapers of these countries often report that young people from poor families who cannot afford to go to school would commit suicide cursing the world.

In the countries where the people are not the masters of society, they cannot receive adequate education and, if any, not proper education. The nature of education depends on whom the social system of the given country serves. In other words, the purpose and nature of education are determined by the social system.

In a society for the people education serves the people, and in a society for the capitalists education serves the capitalists. Therefore, when the people are not the masters of society educational work can never meet their desire.

Some people make little account of the ideological aspect of education. They say that education is supposed to convey the knowledge accumulated in the past to the coming generations. To put it mildly, this is a mistake.

In any society educational institutions are not purely academic but ideological establishments. No one can deny that education in the

mediaeval ages was based on unscientific doctrines and monarchism Capitalist education is, among other things, aimed at making people slaves of capital. One and a half century has passed since the theory of evolution was scientifically recognized. But there are still countries in the world where lecture on this theory is forbidden by law This is striking proof that capitalist education is subordinated to the purpose of guaranteeing the domination of capital.

If education is really to be an undertaking to rear the people into independent and creative beings, they must become the masters of education and, accordingly, masters of the state and society

The same can be said of art and other ideological and cultural means If these are to be instrumental in the ideological and cultural development of the people, they should become the masters of society who own and enjoy them

In a word, if the masses are to be the masters of material wealth created by their labour and to develop ideologically and culturally, they should first transform society and free themselves from social bondage

Let us have a look at the process of development of human history.

All history of human society since the appearance of exploitation and oppression is before anything else a history of social revolution to realize the socio-political Chajusong of the masses Through the social revolution to transform society in a revolutionary way the destiny of the masses has been carved out, society has developed and history advanced.

In the past the social system was replaced by another one time and again through the struggle of the people to refashion society. There is no need to say that many times of changes in the social system before the establishment of the socialist system had not brought about the socio-political Chajusong of the masses Nevertheless, this meant progress in a degree from the viewpoint of struggle for Chajusong

The establishment of the socialist system marks a historical

turn in the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong. When the socialist system is established, the masses become the masters of state power and the means of production. As a result, exploitation and oppression that tramples on the Chajusong of the masses is removed and conditions are created for them to lead a completely independent life.

Today the people of the newly independent countries, not to speak of the working class of capitalist countries, are striving for socialism. This is because socialism alone can open up a broad road to the full achievement of Chajusong of the people. It is an immutable truth that human history, the history of struggle of the people for Chajusong, advances towards socialism.

Nature-Remaking and Human Remoulding

Previously we noted that in order to realize the Chajusong of the people, it is necessary, first of all, to remodel society. Then, if only society is transformed, will the people's Chajusong be realized?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"The transformation of nature and man, along with social reform, is an important historic task in the struggle of the popular masses for Chajusong." (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

Transforming society is the first and foremost task in realizing the Chajusong of the masses. However, this does not mean that when society is transformed all things will be settled of their own accord. The factors shackling the people's Chajusong are found not only in society but in nature and man himself as well. The factors which belong to nature and man will not go automatically with the transformation of society. Therefore, in order to realize the Chajusong of the people it is necessary to fight not only for social transformation but also for remodelling nature and man himself.

Let us take up nature-remaking in the first place.

Man should have means of living for existence. He cannot live on air like the fairies appearing in the old tales. He needs food. Not to be frozen

to death in cold weather, he should have clothes and a house. But these means of life are neither found ready-made in nature nor drop from the skies like snow as in a fairy tale. Man should make these means with natural things by his creative labour And nature continues to move and change, and this process of motion and change not always goes on to the advantage of man Sometimes the weather is fine and rain falls moderately to the advantage of farming, but sometimes there will be floods and long spells of drought. People should overcome such caprices of nature to keep alive

The fetters of nature refer to the difficulties that prevent man from producing necessary means of life as easily as he wishes and to natural calamities such as flood and drought from which he suffers.

Such natural fetters are due to the fact that the productive forces are not yet high enough and that man is not yet so powerful as to tame the blind force of nature completely This is why in order to free himself from natural fetters man should develop the productive forces so highly as to turn out means of life very easily and in sufficient quantity and should tame nature to prevent flood, drought and all other calamities which may be spelled by the blind force of nature Only then can man realize Chajusong in relation to nature and fully enjoy an abundant, modern material life.

Transformation of nature is of great importance not only for freeing the people from natural fetters but also for social reform and human remoulding

Communist society we are going to build is a society where all its members, firmly united by one thought, live in harmony, helping and leading each other forward This is a society where the complete equality of men is ensured in all spheres of social life and people work according to their ability and receive according to their needs. To build such a society we should have highly developed productive forces so that necessary means of life will be produced easily and in sufficient quantity. Only then can we eliminate distinctions between mental and physical labour and do away with disparity in the distribution of income and realize complete

equality among people. Thus, the transformation of nature is a material condition for social reform.

Natural transformation is also an important condition for facilitating the remoulding of man.

Human remoulding is a work of making people independent and creative beings, to be more concrete, a work of turning them into a new type of men equipped with independent consciousness, a wealth of knowledge about nature and society and a sound physique, that is, knowledge, virtue and health.

For this work material conditions should be provided. The thoughts of people are inseparably linked with their material life. For example, ancient men entertained various superstitions because their ability to conquer nature was meagre. Only when the productive forces are developed and the capacity of conquering nature is great, is it possible to eliminate quickly superstitions and various other backward ideas. Besides, the struggle for the mastery of nature will enable people to broaden their knowledge about nature and society and harden their bodies and minds. Material means are necessary also for the education and training of people, and we can get them only by remodelling nature. This is why the transformation of nature is a struggle to provide material conditions for human remoulding.

Now let us pass to the question of human remoulding. Factors that shackle the Chajusong of the masses are found in man himself. This refers to ideological and cultural backwardness. If man is to lead an independent and creative life, he himself should be an independent and creative being. If he is backward ideologically and culturally, he cannot lead an independent and creative life even though the social system is good and his material life is plentiful.

We should not interpret an independent and creative life merely as living in comfort, well-fed and well-dressed, in a good house. It is of course important to live in a good house, eating a good fare and dressing nicely. But it is still more important to perform useful services for society and community as its full-fledged member not subordinated to anybody else. To this end, man himself should be an independent and creative being with a sound thought, a wealth of knowledge about nature and society and a

strong physique. This is why human remoulding is an important task for the building of a communist society.

Communist society is not only a society where nature and society have been remodelled to suit the independent wishes of the masses but also a society where man himself has been remoulded to be a truly independent and creative being. No matter how much goods are produced, it is impossible, before remoulding man himself, to build and manage a communist society where all its members live well equally, helping and leading each other forward in firm union

Human remoulding is also necessary for the transformation of society and nature

It is man that transforms nature and society Therefore, when he is backward ideologically and culturally he cannot remodel nature and society successfully If dislike of work and selfishness persist more or less in the minds of people and they are incompetent to any task, how can they increase production and develop society? Successful transformation of nature and society presupposes remoulding man

After all, if the masses are to lead an independent and creative life as true masters of nature and society, they themselves should be independent and creative beings Herein lies the reason why human remoulding is an important element of the struggle for the Chajusong of the people

In the whole process of development of human society the masses of the people have fought unremittingly to free themselves from the fetters of nature and make progress ideologically and culturally

In the hoary past, that is the dawn of human society, the creative power of man to conquer nature was negligible and his ideological and cultural level, too, was very low But today what a great change people have wrought in nature and how much they themselves have developed!

Modern science and technology, advanced ideology and culture attained by human society are all fruits of the struggle waged by the masses through ages

Here is one thing the readers should not lose sight of It is this when

we say nature as well as man himself has been transformed through long ages, this does not mean that it has been conducted purposefully in keeping with the wishes of the masses in any society and in any period. The readers are requested to recall that when we dealt with the principle that the main agency of history is the masses of the people, we said that their position and role are not the same in all societies and periods. So, the transformation of nature and remoulding of man also differ with societies and periods.

In exploiter society the masses cannot carry on the struggle to remodel nature and man as they please. The reason is that state power and the means of production are held by the exploiting classes.

Just take the transformation of nature for example. In exploiter society factories, lands and all other means of production are in the hands of the exploiters. And the exploiting classes only seek to use them in their favour. In consequence, in exploiter society the work of transforming nature is extremely restrained. Capitalists will develop coal mines and produce machines only when this fetches money. If unprofitable, they abandon even the existing coal mines and do not adopt new devices of machine invented by scientists.

If man is to free himself from the fetters of nature, he should transform the natural environment in his interests. But, rather, the capitalists play havoc with it without scruple for the sake of money. In capitalist countries today a hue and cry is raised over the phenomena of environmental pollution bringing about a "human crisis". It is also a consequence of the capitalists' selfish acts. The exploiters abuse the creative power of man for the end of ensuring their luxurious life which has nothing to do with the emancipation of man from the fetters of nature.

A magazine of a certain country wrote that a rich Greek shipowner married the widow of Kennedy, the assassinated US ex-President, and for a "happy newly-married life" built a magnificent villa or an amusement facility on an island at the cost of tens of millions of dollars. In exploiter society vast human and material resources that must be channelled to the work of freeing man from the fetters of nature are squandered in this manner. Thus, it is impossible for the masses in

exploiter society to purposefully carry on their struggle to transform nature in accordance with their wishes.

Speaking of the remoulding of man, it must be pointed out that exploiter society cripples man ideologically, mentally and physically rather than making him an independent and creative being. As aforesaid, all ideological and propaganda means in exploiter society are owned by the reactionary exploiting classes, which they use for the purpose of paralyzing the people's independent consciousness and emasculating and disabling and animalizing them Therefore, in this society the aspirations of the people for an independent and creative existence cannot be realized.

It is only in socialist society that the struggle for transforming nature and man is given full countenance and carried on with success.

When the socialist system is established, the people become the masters of power and means of production and the task of revolutionary transformation of society is realized. So now, under socialism the task of freeing people from the fetters of nature and old thinking and culture comes to the fore.

Meanwhile, socialist society provides favourable conditions for freeing people from the shackles of nature and outdated ideology and culture.

Socialist society is free from exploiting classes that prevent the work of remaking nature in keeping with the people's desire for independence and their ideological and cultural development. And all material resources and means are marshalled in a planned way for remodelling nature and man. It is of special importance that the masses themselves take an active part in this effort with vital interest. As a result, nature-remaking and human remoulding are successfully carried on in socialist society

Only along the road of socialism can the people become true conquerors of nature and develop to an unlimited extent as really independent and creative beings. This has already been proved by the stark reality.

3) THE STRUGGLE FOR CHAJUSONG ASSUMES AN INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER

What Are the Mutual Relations between the Revolutions in All Countries?

There are a hundred and several tens of large and small countries in the world. Some of them are landlocked and some others, island countries. Yet others are countries whose territory is predominantly mountainous, grassland or desert.

Besides natural conditions, language and customs, too, differ from country to country. For instance, there are 2,500 languages in the world. Moreover, countries are in different stages of social development. There are socialist, newly independent, colonial, though only a few, and imperialist countries.

In any case, countries differ more or less in their natural and geographical conditions, customs and level of social development. At present the struggle for Chajusong embraces all these countries.

Since socio-economic conditions differ from country to country, the struggle for Chajusong takes diverse forms and has different national characteristics.

In some countries exploitation and oppression have already been eliminated and the struggle for the complete Chajusong of the masses is under way. In other countries a struggle is going on to wipe out the aftereffect of imperialist colonial rule and build a new society free from exploitation and oppression. And in yet other countries the struggle against colonial rule is in progress and in still others, the struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital.

Then, how are the revolutionary struggles in all countries waged in diverse forms in different conditions related to each other?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Today, the struggle to defend the masses' Chajusong assumes an international character." (*Ibid.*, p 22.)

Although the struggle for the masses' Chajusong goes on in different forms with the national state as the unit, it assumes an international character.

What then does this mean?

It means that the revolution goes on separately in each national state as the unit, and yet it constitutes a link in the whole chain of world revolution, and that the revolutions in all countries are on supporting and supplementing relations with each other Plainly speaking, the Asian people cannot remain idle onlookers to the revolution in African countries on the ground that it is not taking place in their own country, and conversely. Hence, the struggle for the masses' Chajusong is a common cause of mankind.

Why, then, does the struggle for the masses' Chajusong assume an international character today?

This is above all because the forces of imperialism which trample upon Chajusong are internationally aligned.

Since the imperialists are allied to rule and plunder the masses, the people's struggle for Chajusong cannot but assume an international character

Of course, historically, the people's struggle for Chajusong did not assume an international character from the outset

It existed even in the ages of slavery and feudalism. But the international alliance of exploiting classes was inconceivable before the Middle Ages due to extreme feudal isolation and weak relations between countries.

The same can be said of the relations between exploited peoples of different countries

There lived a man named Hyecho in mediaeval Korea who travelled across the Asian continent. Early in the 8th century he travelled to many countries including five kingdoms of India and even to today's Syria. His record of travels in India *My Trip in Five Indian Kingdoms* is widely known as a valuable historical document.

He spent ten years on the long journey. This fact alone gives us an idea of the relations between countries in the mediaeval times. A distance within less than a day's flight by plane today had to be travelled for several months by horse or donkey at the best in those days. Moreover, no means of communication as today's was available. So, it is pointless to speak of an international character of the struggle for Chajusong in those days. The mediaeval people in the east and the west were quite in the dark mutually as to the peasant wars which were being waged in different parts of the world in their times, let alone the ancient people who did not know of the slave revolts taking place elsewhere.

The international alliance of the exploiting classes coincides with the stage of imperialism. At first, capitalism did away with the feudal fences to dominate and plunder people on the strength of money. Then, going over to the stage of imperialism, it went beyond the national boundaries and embarked on the road of overseas aggression to rule and rob the people of other countries.

Originally, capital came into being for money-making. It will be glad even to proceed to the hell if there is money in it. So it is quite logical that monopoly capital should rush overseas where labour and raw materials are cheap and goods sell at high prices. In fact, the capitalist countries of Western Europe, entering the stage of imperialism, started rivalling with each other in overseas aggression. As a result, almost all countries of the world were reduced to the colonies of the imperialists in the early 20th century.

It is the imperialists' wont to form alliance to control and plunder the people of other countries. True, they scramble for bigger profits, and so have contradictions between them and sometimes fly at each other's throat. This explains the two world wars.

But they sometimes line up for their common interests and, in particular, for suppressing the struggle of the people for Chajusong, because a revolution in a country will present a threat not only to the ruling imperialists of that country but to other imperialist nations as well. This is why they, in spite of occasional dogfights among themselves, are uniformly united when people rise in a revolutionary struggle for Chajusong.

The readers must be well-informed about how the allied forces of imperialism intervened in Russia when the revolution broke out there. As aforesaid, the same can be said of the civil war in Spain. When the Franco clique rose in revolt against the legitimate popular-front government, fascist Germany and Italy openly made an armed intervention. Prior to the Spanish civil war, fascist Germany and Italy had been at odds with each other over the question of annexation of Austria by Germany. Commenting on talk on this question held between Hitler and Mussolini in 1934, people said that "they looked like two bulldogs growling at each other". This gives an idea of the conflict of interests between the two imperialisms. Nevertheless they leagued in suppressing the struggle of the Spanish people for Chajusong. The United States, Britain and France did not openly intervene for fear of the world public opinion, but formed a "non-intervention committee" allegedly to keep neutrality and banned the export of weapons to the Spanish Republic.

It is a common knowledge that the US imperialists perpetrated an armed invasion by mobilizing the main strength of their land, sea and air forces, the troops of their 15 vassal states and the south Korean puppet forces with a view to squashing the struggle of the Korean people for Chajusong. It is an open secret that in the Middle East wars the imperialists helped the Zionists overtly and covertly.

Today when the struggle of the people for Chajusong is gaining momentum all over the world, the imperialists are sticking together more closely in an attempt to escape their sealed fate and win back their lost positions.

Since the imperialists are banded together internationally like this, the people's struggle against imperialism in defence of Chajusong cannot but assume an international character.

Since the imperialists indulge in aggression and plunder in union, the anti-imperialist struggles in all countries are naturally bound up with each other. The anti-imperialist struggle in a country not only defends the Chajusong of its own people, but also contributes to the defence of Chajusong of other peoples by dealing blows to the allied force of imperialism.

As long as there exist countries and borders between them, the

struggle for Chajusong is waged separately in each national state as the unit. But since it is confronted with the allied force of imperialism, the common enemy, it cannot remain purely national.

Another reason for the international character of the people's struggle for Chajusong is that the once oppressed nations and peoples have a community of historical positions and interests.

Deprived of their sovereignty by the imperialists, these nations and peoples have all been reduced to colonial slavery. This explains their common aspirations for and common interests in repulsing imperialism, realizing their Chajusong and leading a free life equally as the masters of the world.

No people can realize their Chajusong without opposing imperialism. Thus, the struggle against imperialism for independence is a common cause of the world's people. In fact, the people's struggles for Chajusong are now merged into a common front of struggle against imperialism for independence and converge into a strong stream of the world revolution.

Geographically, the Asian, African and Latin-American countries are separated from one another by a vast distance across continents and oceans. But today they are standing on the common front of struggle against imperialism for independence, and their revolutions are on supporting and supplementing relations with each other. Therefore, the Asian people cannot remain a mere spectator to the revolutionary struggle of the African people, and, likewise, the African people can never be indifferent to the revolutionary struggle of the Latin-American people. This clearly attests to the international character of the people's struggle for Chajusong.

Unity Is Our Strength

It is a lesson learned at the cost of blood by the masses in the course of their protracted struggle for Chajusong that unity is a sure guarantee of victory in the revolution. But people's understanding of the significance of unity is not the same at all times.

Even a voluminous history book cannot give account of all historical events. So it is unknown, who first put up the slogan of unity. A French woman, Flora Tristan, was among those who called for the unity of the working class prior to Marx and Engels. She grew up in narrow circumstances, under the care of her widowed mother. She had to work from her tender years for a living. She realized from her own experience that the working class had to unite themselves to improve their conditions. She published a booklet *Unity of Workers* in spite of all difficulties in 1843, in which she attributed the wretched plight of the workers to the lack of unity and asserted that their salvation lay in unity.

But she failed to understand the true meaning of unity as a weapon of struggle. Under the influence of Utopian socialism she thought that unity was a means to form "Universal union of male and female workers", improve the economic and cultural conditions of workers, make other social quarters understand the workers' right and promote cooperation. This shows that the unity she advocated did not mean a unity as a weapon of struggle.

As is well known, Marx and Engels were the first to put up the slogan of unity as a fighting weapon of the working class.

Basing themselves on the review of the history of the struggle of the working class, Marx and Engels made it clear that if the working class is to do away with the sway of capital and achieve freedom and liberation, they must unite before anything else.

Marx's and Engels' idea of unity is explicit in the slogan "Working men of all countries, unite!" contained in the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* written by them as the programme of the First International.

The slogan of unity advanced by Marx and Engels greatly contributed later to the strengthening of the international solidarity of the working class in the struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital.

A lot of water has run under the bridge since the days when Marx and Engels were active. In this time the people's struggle for Chajusong has developed. The struggle for Chajusong has spread throughout the world and embraces not only the working class but all people whose Chajusong

has been trampled on by the imperialists. Thus, a slogan of unity which bears a new meaning to suit the requirements of the times has become necessary.

The Juche idea has advanced a new slogan of unity reflecting the requirements of our age, showing the right way to achieve the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist independent forces.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"All countries, all nations, and peoples the world over that advocate Chajusong must struggle jointly, in close unity under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and independence. This is the only way to abolish the imperialist world order which is based on unequality and full of contradictions, and to set up a new international relationship based on Chajusong and equality amongst countries and nations." (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

Proceeding from the scientific exposition of the international character of the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong, this proposition sheds light on the way of forging an indestructible unity of the progressive people the world over.

The new slogan of unity put forward by the Juche idea purports the unity of all countries and peoples of the world that advocate Chajusong.

Today a fierce struggle for Chajusong is under way in the five continents of the world. The people of many countries who have cast off the imperialist colonial yoke are vigorously advancing along the road of Chajusong, and all progressive people are valorously fighting against all sorts of domination and bondage. Not only the countries that have won national independence and embarked on the building of a new society but also some capitalist countries are striving for Chajusong. As a result, a bitter struggle is going on between the independent forces and the imperialist forces on the world arena.

Today when the struggle for Chajusong is global, the slogan of unity ought to cover all countries and peoples that advocate Chajusong.

If these countries and peoples fight in unity, they are fully capable of abolishing the imperialist world order based on inequality and full of contradictions and of establishing a new international relationship based on Chajusong and equality among countries and nations. This is the only way to curb and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war and

realize the people's Chajusong by ensuring a decided predominance of the revolutionary forces.

The unity of all countries and peoples that espouse Chajusong acquires still greater importance in view of the fact that the imperialists are making every effort to divide and sow discord among the countries of the new-emerging forces To divide and rule is the old trick of the imperialists to rule and plunder other countries Today the imperialists fear the unity of the people more than anything else Hence, they are driving a wedge and causing troubles among countries and peoples to prevent them from uniting

Even without illustrations, the readers will be able to visualize this.

We should not forget that in the past the imperialists facilitated their rule and plunder of the colonial peoples by causing discord and distrust among them and pitting them against each other To do so, they traded on the national and racial distinctions and the difference in religious beliefs

In short, the progressive peoples of the world should not feud and quarrel with one another entrapped by the crafty tricks of the imperialists, but must oppose the imperialists' moves to divide and alienate them with the strategy of unity

Then, what should be their banner for unity?

The countries that champion Chajusong can be closely united under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong.

As in the past, so today the imperialists are the culprits who infringe on the Chajusong of the masses The aggressive nature of the imperialists has not changed though they were driven out of the colonies by the people's struggle for Chajusong after World War II. Today they pose as "supporter" or "apostle of peace" covering up their sinister designs on the former colonies with honeyed words. There is an old saying which goes, "In whatever way the crow may croak, there is nothing in it worth hearing". So, whatever the imperialists say is not worth hearing It must be borne in mind that in the past, too, the imperialists found their way into colonies with an olive branch in one hand

Today no country or nation will be able to realize its Chajusong without opposing imperialism. So, it goes without saying that the

countries and nations that stand for Chajusong must uphold the banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong as an emblem of unity.

For all countries and peoples adhering to Chajusong to fight jointly in close unity under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong is a prerequisite for abolishing the imperialist world order based on inequality and full of contradictions and for establishing a new international relationship based on the Chajusong and equality of countries and nations.

Of course, the day is gone when the imperialists were in a position to haggle over and trifle with the destinies of other peoples as they pleased behind the scenes of history. But the old international order set up by the imperialists when they were ruling the roost is still asserting itself in the world and is standing in the way of the people who are striving for Chajusong. Without wiping out this old international order, the new-emerging countries cannot get rid of the imperialist domination and bondage once for all nor build a new independent world.

The greatest force capable of destroying the old international order set up by the imperialists is in the unity of the people espousing Chajusong.

The third UN Sea Law Conference is an illustration of this.

In the past the imperialists laid down the sea law only in their favour by taking advantage of their dominant position and perpetrated aggression and plunder infesting the five oceans as they pleased.

However, the third UN Sea Law Conference adopted a law of the sea in the interests of the new-emerging countries relying on their united strength. This is another victory for the progressive people of the world in their anti-imperialist struggle for independence.

Adoption of the new law clearly demonstrated that if the new-emerging countries fight in unity, they can do away with the old international order set up by the imperialists and establish a new equitable international relationship based on equality.

Today the new slogan of unity advanced by the Juche idea finds a strong sympathetic echo in the five continents of the world.

When all countries and peoples of the world that advocate Chajusong fight jointly in close unity under the banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong, a brilliant success will be achieved in accomplishing the

historic cause of making the whole world independent, the historic cause of building a new world where imperialism and dominationism are no more and all countries and nations fully enjoy sovereignty.

4) WHEN WILL THE CHAJUSONG OF THE MASSES BE FULLY REALIZED?

The Juche idea says that the history of mankind is a history of struggle for the Chajusong of the masses. Then when will the Chajusong of man be fully materialized? One must know this without fail to wage the struggle for Chajusong successfully.

Only when one has a clear idea of the aim and prospects of any task, will one be able to acquit himself well of it. The same is the case with the revolutionary struggle. Only when people have a definite idea of the prospects of the revolution will they wage the revolutionary struggle still better with confidence and hopes. Now I should like to dwell on this subject.

Before going into the question as to when the masses' Chajusong will be realized, let us take a look at the path the masses' struggle for Chajusong has followed. It is necessary to know about yesterday in order to have a prospect for tomorrow, because yesterday changes into today and then into tomorrow.

The Path Traversed by Human Society

As we have already studied, the extent to which the masses' Chajusong is realized depends on the nature of the social system. Therefore, the question what course the struggle for Chajusong has followed amounts to the question how human society has developed. So, *here I would like to deal with the question as to what is the view of the Juche idea on the law-governed process of social progress.*

Human society which dates back to primitive society has arrived at socialist society through slaveholding, feudal and capitalist societies. In other words, society has changed and developed going through different stages by virtue of the people's struggle for Chajusong. Of course, not all countries passed through the same stages of development, but this presents no problem in dealing with the general law of social development.

Why, then, *has human society gone through the said stages?*

All societies mentioned are exploiter societies except primitive and socialist.

The history of mankind is a history of the masses' struggle for Chajusong, and why was a society replaced often by another society where the masses' Chajusong was ignored? Why did the struggle for Chajusong give rise to exploiter society time and again? What was its historical necessity?

The Juche idea gives clear answers to such questions as may be asked by the readers.

I would like to quote the following proposition again because it serves as the key, the starting point, for the solution of these questions.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Although they are the subject of history, the masses of the people do not hold the same position and play the same role in all ages and in all societies." *(Ibid., p. 16.)*

If we look into the process of social progress from the standpoint of this proposition, we will clearly see why human society had to pass through the aforesaid stages.

The first society of human race was primitive society. This is to say that man took his first step into primitive society when he emerged from the animal world.

What, then, *is primitive society?*

Since the historical records left behind by our forefathers date back at most to 5,000-6,000 years ago, we cannot fathom primitive society with their help.

There is no alternative but to infer what primitive society was like from the fossils of primitive men and some other remains including the tools left behind by them and from the life of the existing races who are still

in a primitive state So, there is no telling clearly about primitive society as about slaveholding and feudal societies. This is why no history book mentions names of individuals or historical events in the presentation of primitive society However, such limitations offer no obstacle to our study Here we are not dealing with the historical aspects of primitive society but studying it from the angle of world outlook.

Some people say they cannot understand well why primitive society which was free from exploitation and oppression was replaced by *slaveholding society, an exploiter society, through the people's struggle* for Chajusong So, here I would like to focuss my attention on this question

Primitive society is free from exploitation and oppression of man by man

In this society which was a community of men only just out of the animal world there was no state power for man to dominate man nor private ownership of means of production, the economic foundation for the exploitation of man by man

Primitive society, too, had chieftain, commander and clan council But this was not a power organization for the domination of man by man Since primitive society was a community, it needed the social function of organizing and directing people's activity in a coordinated way This we can presume gave birth to chieftain, commander and clan council and the like

In primitive society, too, there were means of production, though crude. But they were all communal property

Therefore, in this society there could be no exploitation and oppression of man by man A relationship of equality prevailed among people.

However, we must not idealize primitive society on the grounds that it knew no exploitation and oppression People wonder why primitive society free from exploitation and oppression changed into slaveholding society, an exploiter society, as a result of the struggle for Chajusong primarily because they over-idealize it

In the previous section we have studied that the level of social development corresponds to the position and role of people.

Primitive society was free from exploitation and oppression, but it was not born of necessity, like socialist society, due to the high consciousness of independence and creative ability of the masses, but it came into being owing to the extremely low consciousness of independence and creative ability of people.

It may be said without exaggeration that the consciousness of independence of the primitive men who had just emerged from the animal world did not go beyond a desire not to die of hunger and not to fall a victim to beasts of prey.

As for their relations with society, the primitive men could not yet sever themselves from the collective. Primitive society was a social collective bound together by blood ties. Especially, in the early stage of primitive society it was no more than a semi-animal crowd. So, the position of individual members in the social collective was not yet clearly definable.

It is self-evident that a relationship of domination and obedience could not be formed between people under the conditions in which they were unable to see the collective and themselves separately from each other. This was how the social relations of primitive society free from exploitation and oppression were established.

Relations between communities in primitive society show clearly that this society did not come into being on the basis of a high level of independent consciousness and creative ability of people. Since in primitive society people were bound up by blood ties, they did not make distinctions between the collective and themselves, but they discriminated between theirs and other communities.

What, then, were the relations between communities?

Their relations were entirely based on the right of the strongest. Communities often fought, and the victor took away the members of the defeated community as slaves. This is positive proof that the social relations in primitive society which was clear of exploitation and oppression were not shaped according to a high level of people's consciousness of independence and creative ability but were formed spontaneously on the basis of a very low level of them.

Therefore, these relations were fated to crumble with the gradual rising of the people's independent consciousness and creative ability.

Since the primitives were also human, they came to struggle for Chajusong, though in a very crude form. Their struggle for Chajusong began with endeavours to conquer nature. This was because it was most pressing to avoid the menace of destruction.

The collective and individuals were not yet differentiated, the question of social reform did not come to the fore In the early period of primitive society, people's consciousness of independence and creative ability were in fact confined to their relations with nature.

However, in the course of practical struggle for Chajusong the primitives' independent consciousness and creative ability increased, and this led them gradually to distinguish themselves from the collective. The process of change of primitive groups into communities of matrilineal clans and then into communities of patriarchal clans and of breakup of large family communities into small ones was immediately the process of primitive men distinguishing themselves from the collective Needless to say, the communities of matrilineal and patriarchal clans were not individuals but social collectives But transition from the semi-animal primitive group to the matrilineal social collective and then to the patrilineal one meant that people already began to recognize themselves

As for marriage in primitive society, group marriage was replaced by pairing marriage, and again by monogamy. This, too, was the process of people becoming self-conscious

The primitive social relations which had been formed when people's independent consciousness and creative ability were very low gradually went out of keeping with their independent requirement as they awoke to themselves with the rising of their independent consciousness and creative ability. Thus, these social relations which had conformed to people's independent requirement came to impede their free development As a result, with the heightening of primitives' independent consciousness and creative ability, the primitive community inevitably came apart

The process of this breakup was an outcome not of the purposeful struggle of a people with a high level of independent consciousness and creative ability as today but of the spontaneous activity of the primitives

whose independent consciousness and creative ability were at a very low level.

Hence, the collapse of primitive society gave rise to antagonism among people. The spontaneous breakup of the community, the collective of the primitives who had not the slightest idea of social equality and had just emerged from the animal world reigned by the law of the jungle, inevitably engendered antagonism among people. This antagonism found expression in the domination and exploitation of the members of the community by those who held advantageous positions like the chieftain and commander.

If primitive society had been formed purposefully on the basis of a high level of people's independent consciousness and creative ability, it would not have been replaced by a society where exploitation and oppression prevailed, just as socialist society will never be replaced by such a society, however developed the productive forces may be.

Here is another question. Why did primitive society give way to slaveholding society when it fell?

This can also be explained by the level of people's independent consciousness and creative ability.

The relations of domination and slavery which took shape in the society which had just emerged from the animal world provided enough opportunity for a harsh system of slavery.

As aforesaid, it must be borne in mind that prior to the disintegration of primitive society, the members of one clan conquered and enslaved the members of another clan, and even slaughtered them to eat like animals. It may be said that the birth of the slave system was an inevitable and natural outcome of the collapse of primitive society in the light of the primitives' level of consciousness.

Transition from primitive to slaveholding society was an outcome of people's struggle for Chajusong and meant a development of this struggle.

Appearance of exploitation and oppression and replacement of primitive society by slaveholding society in the course of development of human society must not be regarded as social retrogression. Such a view is an evil result of over-idealization of primitive society.

That slaveholding society was more developed than primitive society

can be proved by the mere fact that material and cultural wealth inconceivable in primitive society was produced there. Viewed in this light, transition from primitive society without exploitation to slaveholding society based on harsh exploitation does not contradict but fully conforms to the truth that human history is a history of the masses' struggle for Chajusong.

Now let us study how slaveholding society was replaced by feudal society.

I have already given a general description of slaveholding society in the previous section, so there will be no need to repeat it.

Since relations of relentless exploitation and oppression based on the harsh slaveholding system prevailed in slaveholding society, the people's struggle for Chajusong in this society inevitably became a struggle against the system of slavery. Hence, the slaves waged a ceaseless struggle against the slaveholders, eventually bringing down the slaveholding system.

Now a question arises as to why the feudal system of all systems followed in the wake of slaveholding system. This can also be correctly explained by referring to the position and role of the masses.

The slaves had greater independent consciousness and creative ability than the primitives, but still not great enough to give birth to a social system free from exploitation and oppression. Thus, their struggle for Chajusong, too, could not but be spontaneous. Their struggle always lacked a definite object as to what kind of society they should build, but simply was aimed at extricating themselves from slavery. If one is to become the true master of society, he must possess state power and means of production, but this was something the slaves could hardly think of.

Meanwhile, as the slaves' struggle gained in strength, the slaveholders found it no longer possible to dominate and squeeze them by the old methods. Thus, feudal forms of domination and exploiting methods came into being. They were devices to rule and exploit them by shackling them to the feudal caste system and land, the basic means of production at the time, in return for freeing them from the chains of slavery. Thus, the slaveholders changed into feudal lords and slaves, into serfs.

Needless to say, the process of rise of the feudal system differs in some

whose independent consciousness and creative ability were at a very low level.

Hence, the collapse of primitive society gave rise to antagonism among people. The spontaneous breakup of the community, the collective of the primitives who had not the slightest idea of social equality and had just emerged from the animal world reigned by the law of the jungle, inevitably engendered antagonism among people. This antagonism found expression in the domination and exploitation of the members of the community by those who held advantageous positions like the chieftain and commander.

If primitive society had been formed purposefully on the basis of a high level of people's independent consciousness and creative ability, it would not have been replaced by a society where exploitation and oppression prevailed, just as socialist society will never be replaced by such a society, however developed the productive forces may be.

Here is another question. Why did primitive society give way to slaveholding society when it fell?

This can also be explained by the level of people's independent consciousness and creative ability.

The relations of domination and slavery which took shape in the society which had just emerged from the animal world provided enough opportunity for a harsh system of slavery.

As aforesaid, it must be borne in mind that prior to the disintegration of primitive society, the members of one clan conquered and enslaved the members of another clan, and even slaughtered them to eat like animals. It may be said that the birth of the slave system was an inevitable and natural outcome of the collapse of primitive society in the light of the primitives' level of consciousness.

Transition from primitive to slaveholding society was an outcome of people's struggle for Chajusong and meant a development of this struggle.

Appearance of exploitation and oppression and replacement of primitive society by slaveholding society in the course of development of human society must not be regarded as social retrogression. Such a view is an evil result of over-idealization of primitive society.

That slaveholding society was more developed than primitive society

can be proved by the mere fact that material and cultural wealth inconceivable in primitive society was produced there. Viewed in this light, transition from primitive society without exploitation to slaveholding society based on harsh exploitation does not contradict but fully conforms to the truth that human history is a history of the masses' struggle for Chajusong

Now let us study how slaveholding society was replaced by feudal society.

I have already given a general description of slaveholding society in the previous section, so there will be no need to repeat it

Since relations of relentless exploitation and oppression based on the harsh slaveholding system prevailed in slaveholding society, the people's struggle for Chajusong in this society inevitably became a struggle against the system of slavery Hence, the slaves waged a ceaseless struggle against the slaveholders, eventually bringing down the slaveholding system

Now a question arises as to why the feudal system of all systems followed in the wake of slaveholding system This can also be correctly explained by referring to the position and role of the masses

The slaves had greater independent consciousness and creative ability than the primitives, but still not great enough to give birth to a social system free from exploitation and oppression Thus, their struggle for Chajusong, too, could not but be spontaneous Their struggle always lacked a definite object as to what kind of society they should build, but simply was aimed at extricating themselves from slavery If one is to become the true master of society, he must possess state power and means of production, but this was something the slaves could hardly think of

Meanwhile, as the slaves' struggle gained in strength, the slaveholders found it no longer possible to dominate and squeeze them by the old methods Thus, feudal forms of domination and exploiting methods came into being They were devices to rule and exploit them by shackling them to the feudal caste system and land, the basic means of production at the time, in return for freeing them from the chains of slavery. Thus, the slaveholders changed into feudal lords and slaves, into serfs

Needless to say, the process of rise of the feudal system differs in so

whose independent consciousness and creative ability were at a very low level.

Hence, the collapse of primitive society gave rise to antagonism among people. The spontaneous breakup of the community, the collective of the primitives who had not the slightest idea of social equality and had just emerged from the animal world reigned by the law of the jungle, inevitably engendered antagonism among people. This antagonism found expression in the domination and exploitation of the members of the community by those who held advantageous positions like the chieftain and commander.

If primitive society had been formed purposefully on the basis of a high level of people's independent consciousness and creative ability, it would not have been replaced by a society where exploitation and oppression prevailed, just as socialist society will never be replaced by such a society, however developed the productive forces may be.

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Needless to say, the process of rise of the feudal system differs in some

ways from country to country. When the slaves were fighting against the slave system in ancient Rome, German and other tribes outside its lines invaded and ruined the empire and set up a feudal system. But in this case, too, the rise of the feudal system following the ruin of the slave system can only be explained from the level of the independent consciousness and creative ability of the masses of slaves. The German tribe had to rely on a system other than the slave system to rule the masses of Rome who were against the slave system.

In a word, the slaveholding system was ruined owing to the struggle of the slaves, but it was inevitable that this system was replaced by another exploiting system, the feudal system, due to the limitations of the independent consciousness and creative ability of the slave masses.

The same can be said of the reason for the change of feudal society into capitalist society.

I have already explained what kind of society feudal society was. In feudal society, too, the people's Chajusong was ignored to the extreme, and so they had to fight against the feudal system.

The feudal system crumbled under the impact of the masses' struggle, but this time, too, they failed to realize their Chajusong due to the limitations of their independent consciousness and creative ability.

Indeed, the serfs had a higher level of independent consciousness and creative ability than the slaves. But they, too, did not know how to realize their Chajusong. Thus, they had no clear fighting goal nor a correct strategy and tactics while they fought against feudal exploitation and oppression. It was far from their thought to become the masters of power and of means of production.

History records many peasant wars in which the peasants even tried to settle their problems by appealing to the kings, the heads of the exploiting classes, for mercy. Therefore, although they played the decisive role in tearing down the feudal system, they were deprived of the fruits by the bourgeoisie, a new exploiting class, and were reduced to slaves of capital. As a result, feudal society inevitably passed into capitalist society.

Capitalism is the last exploiting system in human history. Capitalism which was born of bloodshed is given to unlimited exploitation and oppression of people, veiling its predatory nature with the specious names

of "free" employment and "equitable" purchase and sale. So, under capitalism it is inevitable that the masses of the people including the workers rise in a struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital.

The workers are not the slaves or serfs of yesterday. The working class that has been disinherited politically and economically is more vitally interested in the struggle against capital than anybody else and, accordingly, is the most revolutionary class taking the lead in this struggle

The working class is a progressive class that is connected with large-scale modern manufactures and with the contemporary civilization and a class that has learned from the historical experience of the oppressed masses' struggle for Chajusong

The guiding idea showing the way of abolishing the domination of capital and building a new society free from exploitation and oppression is given by an outstanding leader in the course of the actual struggle of the working class and other sections of the masses against capital Thus, in capitalist society the masses of the people under the guidance of an outstanding leader wage a purposeful struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the socialist system. This will lead to the replacement of capitalist society by socialist society

It is an inexorable law of development of human history that the masses' struggle for Chajusong brings about the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism

Colonial and semi-colonial countries take a different path to socialism from that followed by the normally-developed capitalist countries

Those countries suffered from imperialist aggression when pre-capitalist social relations were prevailing there The imperialists applied pre-capitalist methods of exploitation in addition to capitalist methods in order to plunder the people of these countries Because this facilitated their political rule and enabled them to plunder the people more cruelly As a result, these countries were placed under the most barbaric colonial ruling system Hence, their people's struggle for Chajusong assumed an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal nature at first

These countries cannot go over to the socialist revolution at a bound bypassing the stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

This revolution will free masses of the people from imperialist and feudal exploitation and oppression. But this does not mean the complete abolition of exploitation and oppression. Hence, the people's struggle for Chajusong will continue and eventually become the struggle for socialism.

Establishment of the socialist system marks a historical turning point in the masses' struggle for Chajusong.

With the establishment of the socialist system the people become the masters of power and means of production and are freed from all sorts of exploitation and oppression for good. This means that the socio-political Chajusong of the masses is realized through the socialist revolution.

As the readers know, the people of many countries have already carried out the socialist revolution and become legitimate masters of the state and society, and many other countries are now striving for socialism.

Such is the path human society has traversed through the people's struggle for Chajusong. And this is the law-governed process of social progress clarified by the Juche idea.

The Eternal Spring of Mankind

Human society has traversed a rough and rugged path to this day. Nevertheless, the Chajusong of the people has not yet been fully realized.

Then, when will it be actualized completely? In other words, what is the ideal society yearned after by humanity, a society in which the masses' Chajusong is fully materialized, and how will that society be built?

Today when the struggle of the people for Chajusong is going on vigorously on a worldwide scale, they are more concerned about the path ahead than the path behind.

The Juche idea gives a vivid picture of the ideal society mankind has been seeking after in their fantasy and dream, the highest ideal of humanity visualized as a supposition or a forecast at best, and clearly shows the straight way to it.

The highest ideal society of mankind clarified by the Juche idea is not fantastic or utopian or an unknown quantity within the bounds of imagination and forecast. It is something concrete and scientific, and thus

is a society which will surely be realized in the future. There are peoples in the world who are advancing towards this ideal society with confidence.

Now let us make a trip to the highest ideal society of mankind along the path of revolution illuminated by the Juche idea.

We have already studied that human society has come to socialist society through many stages of development. So, socialist society is our point of departure for ideal society.

As aforesaid, with the establishment of the socialist system the masses of the people become the masters of power and means of production. Thus, exploitation and oppression are abolished and the socio-political Chajusong of the masses is realized. In other words, the masses are freed from social bonds.

But even after the establishment of the socialist system the masses' Chajusong is not fully realized. Socialist society is built on the ruins of the old society. Therefore, many remnants of the old society linger on in socialist society. The remodelling of society is a colossal work, and how can all old social ills be wiped out at a stroke?

The establishment of the socialist system does not mean that material production increases at once to fully satisfy the people's demand for food, clothing and housing. And nature-remaking still involves a lot of heavy labour, and distinctions between mental and physical labour will remain for a considerably long time. So, even after the establishment of the socialist system people are not free from the fetters of nature.

The establishment of the socialist system does not signify either that all people will immediately acquire a high level of ideological consciousness and culture befitting the true masters of nature and society. It needs no explanation that the people who have been affected by various bad ideas of the old society and received no education cannot acquire a high level of ideological consciousness and culture overnight. So, even after the establishment of the socialist system old ideas will survive in the minds of people for a long time and their cultural backwardness will not be eliminated soon. Hence, people are shackled not only to nature but also to the old ideas and culture.

In a nutshell, even after the establishment of the socialist system

people will not be entirely free from the fetters of nature and old ideas and culture due to the legacies of the old society.

If the masses of the people are to fully achieve Chajusong, they must do away with all these remnants of the old society which restrain their Chajusong, and so the revolution will continue even after the establishment of the socialist system.

Then, what is needed to eliminate the remnants of the old society and fully realize the masses' Chajusong? In other words, what kinds of revolutions should be carried on?

The Juche idea teaches that the revolutions which should be carried on to fully realize the Chajusong of the masses after the establishment of the socialist system are three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural. This is to say that mankind will proceed to communism, the highest ideal society, through the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

The ideological revolution aims to get all people rid of the legacies of the old ideas and make them acquire the lofty ideological and mental qualities befitting the masters of communist society. The technical revolution is designed to supply all necessities of life according to needs, free people from all kinds of heavy labour and, further, obliterate distinctions between mental and physical labour by highly developing the productive forces. The object of the cultural revolution is to equip people with an ample knowledge of nature and society and provide them with a genuinely cultured life.

When the three revolutions are accomplished, people will be free from all fetters of nature and the old thinking and culture and their Chajusong will be fully realized. This is why the three revolutions are regarded as the basic way of building a communist society, the highest ideal society of mankind.

But communist society is not built in a day. There is a proper order in doing everything. How can the task of freeing people from the shackles of nature and the old thinking and culture be fulfilled readily at a breath?

This is all the more so in the case of the former colonial and semi-colonial countries which are very backward in all fields of ideology, technology and culture. Therefore, a whole historical epoch lies between

the establishment of the socialist system and the building of a communist society.

Then, what course should we follow to reach communist society?

The masses of the people must first secure the complete victory of socialism by vigorously pushing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

The establishment of the socialist system does not mean the advent of completely victorious socialist society. If socialism is to be completely victorious, the reactionary elements who are keen to destroy the socialist system and reverse history should be barred from engaging in any more insidious scheming and the old ideas surviving in the people's mind should be neutralized to such an extent that it will no longer work evil to the socialist system. Further, discrepancy between town and country and class distinctions between workers and peasants must be eliminated and the productive forces developed, so that the people's material and cultural standards improve and not only workers and peasants but also people of the middle class origin who were fairly well off in the past come to fully realize the advantage of the socialist system

When socialism wins complete victory, society will be classless This will mark another turning point in social development It can be said that the complete victory of socialism is a conspicuous milestone on the way to communist society.

With the complete victory of socialism the masses' Chajusong is more fully realized and their role in reshaping nature and society is immeasurably enhanced But even the complete victory of socialism does not mean the complete materialization of the masses' Chajusong.

It cannot be said that with the complete victory of socialism people's minds get thoroughly clear of the residues of the old thoughts. The residues of the old ideas are so tenacious that they will not pass away readily but will revive at every opportunity even after they have been knocked out. So, if farmers are to raise good crops they have to weed two or three times. Likewise, in order to make all members of society true masters of communist society, the ideological revolution must be continued persistently to overcome the old ideas even after the complete victory of socialism.

Even after the complete victory of socialism distinctions between mental and physical labour will remain. And labour will not yet be the primary requirement of life, that is, an indispensable necessity of human life, but a means for earning a living. Essential goods of life are not produced in a sufficient quantity to ensure distribution according to needs. Therefore, even after the complete victory of socialism the technical revolution must be continued.

Even when the complete victory of socialism is achieved, the technical and cultural level of people will not be high enough to make them true masters of communist society. Therefore, the cultural revolution must also be carried on continuously.

The long and short of it is that only when the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are pushed forward unremittingly after the complete victory of socialism, will communism, the highest ideal society of mankind, be realized.

What, then, is communist society where the masses' Chajusong will be consummated?

Communist society to be reached by humanity, that is, the society where the Chajusong of the people will be completely realized, is, above all, a society in which all people will have been remoulded into independent and creative beings. In other words, it is a society in which all people are comprehensively developed men of a communist type with sound thinking, ample knowledge of nature and society and strong physique. The people who will live in communist society will be free from any old thoughts and culture. They are people who will work willingly in a creative way entirely for the sake of society and the collective, not for a reward, distinction or personal comfort.

When communism is materialized, the social relations will also be fully transformed in line with the masses' independent requirements. Among the people of this society will prevail the relationship of helping and leading each other forward under the slogan "One for all and all for one!" Thus, the interests of the entire society and individuals will be bound up most harmoniously. Under such conditions, bright prospects will be opened up before individual members of society to make progress endlessly according to their abilities, and their progress will immediately

make a definite contribution to the development of the entire society.

Since communist society is a society with highly-developed productive forces, it knows no distinctions between mental and physical labour, to say nothing of heavy labour. Thus, people will be freed once and for all from the fetters of the division of labour formed in exploiter society and be allowed to choose any work they please according to their ability and tastes Moreover, since the productive forces are highly developed, essential goods of life will literally gush forth to fully provide all members of society with material and cultural conditions for an independent and creative life.

In a nutshell, communist society is a society where the people will *fully enjoy an independent and creative life free from all fetters of nature and society*

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out that communist society is a society the whole of which has been modelled on the Juche idea

There are two grounds for this first, the Juche idea illumines the features of communist society for mankind, secondly, it sheds a full light on the right course and specific way leading to communism

The Juche idea gives a perfect explanation of the ideological and spiritual qualities and mode of activity of people who will live in communist society and the social relations to be formed in it

Further, the Juche idea casts a clear light on the path mankind will have to follow to reach communist society

Hence, it can be said that communist society is a society in which the Juche idea has been embodied. In other words, when all areas of social life are remodelled in the way shown by the Juche idea, communist society, the highest ideal of mankind, will be reached

It is an immutable law of social development that human society *moves on towards communism under which the Chajusong of the people* is actualized perfectly. Because communist society is a requirement of the masses of the people who are the main agency of history Needless to say, manifold difficulties will be encountered by human race until they accomplish their highest ideal, but in any case history will move on towards it

Communist society in which the Juche idea is translated into reality means an eternal spring for mankind when the ages-old desire of the

masses for an independent life is accomplished splendidly.

The people of our age who have emerged as masters of history ar striving to hasten the eternal spring of mankind, breaking the thick ic formed in the long course of history traversed by exploiter society.

5) LET US DEFEND CHAJUSONG

It is an immutable truth that the history of mankind is a history c struggle waged in defence of the masses' Chajusong.

True, the tide of history is not even, but, after all, it will flow towarc the realization of the Chajusong of the people. This course of history is a objective process independent of our will. Therefore, no one can check c change this current of history.

But when we say that the course of history is an objective process, w do not mean that we cannot influence it. We can greatly accelerate the flo of history by acting positively on the socio-historical movement from correct viewpoint and stand in keeping with the truth that human histor is a history of struggle for the defence of the Chajusong of the people

Then, what viewpoint and stand should we maintain in order t accelerate the history of struggle for the defence of Chajusong?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Defending Chajusong is an absolute requirement of man as a soci being and his inalienable fundamental right." (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

As aforesaid, man is a social being whose intrinsic quality consists i Chajusong. If man is bereft of Chajusong, he will only be left with physical life like animals. Therefore, it is natural that man for whoi Chajusong is life and soul should combat the infringement of this life. Th is an absolute requirement and inalienable fundamental right of man.

It is for the sake of Chajusong that the masses of the people strugg against the oppressors and devote all their creative wisdom and energy f building a new society in the face of difficulties and hardships. Our labou and struggle for existence are all for the sake of Chajusong.

The socio-historical movement of the masses is for Chajusong an

From the first day of their appearance in the world, people who are social creatures lived in a definite social community. In the course of their struggle for Chajusong, this community ceaselessly changed and developed in keeping with their independent requirement. As a result, clans which can be called the first social collectives of human society changed and developed into tribes, tribes into races and eventually races into nations. Nations formed in this way were combined with state organizations and became national states, more solid social collectives.

National states differ from each other in blood, language, culture and territory and are quite distinguishable as solid units of social life. As long as there is the country and nation, people, no matter who they are, live and act within the national state, the unit of life. As long as the country and nation is a solid unit of social life, the revolution and construction are always carried on separately with the national state as the unit.

Since the revolution and construction go on with the national state as the unit, the masters of the revolution and construction in each country are the people of that country. The revolution and construction are undertakings for the people of the given country and responsibilities devolving on them. Hence, the masses of the people should have an attitude of master and, above all, an independent stand towards the revolution in their country.

It can be said that viewed in this light, the independent stand is essential for the masses to defend their right as masters and discharge their responsibility in the revolution and construction.

Since the masses are the masters of the revolution and construction, they should defend their right as masters.

When the masses fully defend their right as masters, they can carry out the revolution and construction in their interests and achieve their Chajusong. If one, under pressure from or in bondage to others, fails to dispose of one's own problems according to one's own decision, this will mean losing one's right as the master, and if he acts against his own interests under the same circumstances, this will mean giving up one's right as the master. If one loses or gives up one's rights like this, one will be unable in the end to carry out the revolution and construction.

The history of the masses' struggle for Chajusong knows more than

one instance of the revolution and construction coming to naught because the masses failed to defend their rights. There were even lamentable cases that the valuable gains of revolution won at the cost of blood were all lost. Therefore, if one is to successfully carry out the revolution and construction which are difficult and complex, one must always stick to the independent stand and defend his rights as the master

Since the masses are the masters of the revolution and construction, they should discharge their responsibilities as masters while defending their rights as such

Fulfilling the responsibilities as masters signifies that the popular masses resolve all questions of the revolution and construction on their own responsibility and resources as the masters This is also a stand to be maintained by the masses of the people, the masters of the revolution and construction Trying to get others to do one's tasks or solve one's problems is shirking one's responsibility and relinquishing one's position as the master

Without maintaining the stand of fulfilling one's responsibility as the master, one cannot make the revolution Unless one keeps to one's stand as the master, one will not be able even to solve his personal problems properly, let alone carrying out the revolution One cannot let other people act for himself in carrying out the revolution and construction. Of course, one can receive aid from other peoples, but the main thing is one's own force If the master fails to do his duty, help from others will be of no avail, and they cannot help him well, either Dependence on foreign forces brings the revolution and construction to naught.

Here I quote a few lines from the last letter of Patrice Lumumba, the ex-President of Congo

"What we wanted for our country is one. It is the right to an honest life, an unpretentious cause and unlimited independence. Belgian colonialists and their Western allies were categorically against it. They directly or indirectly, openly or secretly obtained the support of some high-ranking officials of the United Nations, the organization to which we appealed for help pinning all our hopes on...."

The resentful message of Lumumba's letter speaks of the bloody lesson he obtained in the last days of his life, we must say.

In history there is no instance of a people winning the revolution by relying on foreign forces without endeavouring to discharge their responsibility as the master. Dependence on foreign forces in itself means subordination. Therefore, temporary "success" achieved in the revolution and construction in reliance on outside forces is not genuine nor lasting. Moreover, it will vanish like a bubble the moment foreign support is withdrawn.

The revolution and construction must always be carried out by one's own efforts and on one's responsibility. Only then can one acquit oneself well in the revolution and construction in the interests of one's people and the success achieved in them can be really durable and be developed without anybody else's help.

I think the readers know well of the people who made a mess of the revolution because they only turned to others for help in an attempt to solve their problems in dependence on foreign forces instead of defending their rights and discharging their responsibilities as the masters. So, I will dispense with lengthy explanation about this.

Here I would like to remind them of the remarks made long ago by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, who exhorted the revolutionaries by saying that when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot, when a people takes to flunkeyism their country falls into ruin, and when a party acquires flunkeyism it makes a mess of revolution and construction.

If one is to defend Chajusong, one must wage a tenacious struggle against imperialism and dominationism while maintaining the independent stand.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The people of each country must not only oppose aggression and subjugation in firm defence of their Chajusong, but should also fight against imperialism and dominationism which trample upon the Chajusong of other peoples." (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

It can be said that the independent stand is mainly related to the question of each people carrying out their revolution well by discharging their duty with credit as the masters, and the struggle against imperialism and dominationism refers primarily to the question of skilfully fighting in defence of Chajusong on an international scale.

The struggle for Chajusong is a common cause of mankind. Hence, each people can by no means remain indifferent to an infringement on the Chajusong of other peoples. If a fire in the adjoining house is not put out, it may spread to your house. Even if it does not threaten your house, it will be inhuman for a champion of Chajusong to be indifferent to the neighbour's misfortune Therefore, every people must not only oppose an outrage on their own Chajusong but also denounce a violation of another people's. Only then can they be regarded as a genuine defender of Chajusong.

Today the most important and primary task in defending the people's Chajusong on an international scale is the struggle against imperialism and dominationism

In the face of the mounting struggle of the people for Chajusong, the imperialists are making vicious attempts to win back their lost positions and subordinate the countries of the newly-emerging forces again. They interfere in the internal affairs of other nations at every opportunity and sometimes resort to shameless armed invasions without scruple Big powers are scrambling for important areas of material resources and zones of strategic importance, owing to which the Chajusong of the newly-emerging countries is seriously violated

So, without fighting against imperialism and dominationism, the aspirations of the people for Chajusong cannot be realized. Therefore, the progressive people of the world should make the whole world independent by fighting against imperialism and dominationism under the banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong.

An independent world is a world clear of all sorts of dominationism and colonialism, in which sovereignty is fully ensured for all countries and nations When the whole world becomes independent, a new world war can be prevented, a lasting peace preserved and broad vistas will be opened up for all countries and nations to build an independent, prosperous new society to guarantee the Chajusong of the people completely. This will mark a historic turning point in the struggle of the progressive people of the world for Chajusong.

It is not for nothing that today the people of the world say that the

struggle for making the whole world independent is a common programme of action for the progressive people of the world.

3. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL MOVEMENT IS A CREATIVE MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE

What is clarified by the principle that the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the masses of the people?

It clarifies the character of socio-historical movement, whereas the principle that human history is a history of struggle of the people for Chajusong, as aforesaid, explains the essence of the socio-historical movement. In other words, the former gives an answer to the question of how history progresses and by whom, while the latter supplies an answer to the question of whom and what social history serves.

The knowledge of whom and what history serves and, at the same time, who plays what kind of role in developing history is essential for us to push ahead with the building of a new society and advance history purposefully.

1) WHAT IS THE CHARACTER OF SOCIO-HISTORICAL MOVEMENT?

That the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the masses, means that nature and society are transformed by the creative role of the people. Human history progresses through the creative activities of the people to remodel nature and society as they wish.

Then, let us see first why the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the popular masses.

The Activities of the Masses Assume a Creative Nature

What are the activities of the masses that the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the masses?

It is first because the activity of the people assumes a creative nature.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"The masses' activity for an independent life is characterized by creativity." (*Ibid*, p 26)

This means that it is an activity for transforming nature and society by abolishing the old and creating the new.

Men satisfy their vital needs through creative activity.

Unlike animals that adapt themselves to the environment for survival, men subsist by transforming the environment in keeping with their need through purposeful activity For instance, animals, however developed, eat when there is food and go hungry when there is nothing to eat. So it is of frequent occurrence that animals perish of hunger in large herds.

Unlike animals, however, men make what they need when these are not available and improve what they have before using them A concrete example of this is that people raise crops and keep domestic animals for making various kinds of foodstuffs.

Thus, men make what they need to meet their vital requirements. This involves their cognitive activity for finding out the laws of movement of things and phenomena and their practical efforts for remodelling them to meet their needs.

The entirety of cognitive and practical activities for transforming nature and society is called creative activity.

All human activities are creative.

The activity of the primitive men who had so little ability of transforming nature was also creative. At first glance stone implements

become greater. Today people may rest content with a two-roomed flat, but tomorrow they will ask for a three- or four-roomed flat. It may be vanity to dream of a life beyond one's means, but it is natural that people's desire for independence become greater as they develop. Driven by a steadily increasing desire for independence, people make continued progress without stagnation and standstill.

Since people's vital needs are satisfied through their creative activity like this, their activity for independent life inevitably assumes a creative nature and the socio-historical movement whose main agency is the masses of people turns out to be creative movement.

Another reason why the socio-historical movement is the creative movement of the masses is that the masses of the people require abolishing the old things and creating the new and have the creative ability to transform nature and society

The masses of the people want to lead an independent life free from the shackles of nature and society. This is an absolute demand of social creatures. Who in the world wants to live shackled to nature and society? Elimination of all kinds of old things shackling man's Chajusong and creation of the new are indispensable for an independent life free from the shackles of nature and society. This alone enables the masses of the people to lead an independent and creative life as masters of nature and society If the masses of the people had no desire to abolish the old things and create the new, there would be none of the innumerable creations in the world and no man would ever be living.

Needless to say, this does not mean that everything in the world has come into being according to the desire of the masses. In exploiter society it is not infrequent that things are made without reference to the needs of the masses. What is the use for the people of things such as the amphitheatres of ancient Rome where gladiators fought killing each other. It is not only in olden times that things having nothing to do with people's vital needs were made. Today in some imperialist countries, we are told, there are factories exclusively engaged in the production of "clothes", "shoes" and the like for pet animals. These have nothing to do with the masses' needs.

The popular masses' desire to abolish the old things and create the

new is aimed at meeting the demand of people for independence. This desire gives rise to the socio-historical movement.

The masses not only want to abolish the old things and create the new but also possess the ability to do so. The masses have the knowledge, technology and experience needed for the transformation of nature and society and the capacity for union to pool their efforts to realize their desire. The creative ability of the masses continues to increase in the course of transforming nature and society. We can say that the masses are the incarnation of the creative ability for mastering nature and transforming society.

Those who travel by train from Ulan Bator to Beijing see part of the famous Great Wall of China. The majestic wall stretching endlessly over high mountain ridges brings the beholders a keen realization that the creative ability of people is inexhaustible.

The Great Wall of China, one of the seven wonders of the world, carries with it the bitter resentments of the people of those days. By connecting the walls erected separately by the three kingdoms of Qin, Zhao and Yan and extending them, Qin Shi Huang built the Great Wall with the forced labour of over two million peasants and slaves in the latter part of the third century B.C. to keep out the northern nomadic tribes, and this at a time when even a simple crane was not available. So it must have been built at the cost of the people's blood and sweat.

According to tradition, a young man in Hunan Province was drafted to the corvee for building the Great Wall on his wedding day, only to return to his wife when his hair was already grey. Be that as it may, the Great Wall is no doubt a historical evidence of the people's creative powers. The Great Wall cannot be the only instance.

Today the popular masses are creating what baffles the imagination of the people of the days of the Great Wall. The people are makers of history due to their creative ability.

After all, the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the popular masses because it is caused by their needs and promoted by them.

The principle that the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the people teaches us the truth that the building of a communist society conforming to the masses' will and desire necessitates

the cultivation of their creative power and enhancement of their creative role in the revolution and construction.

Human History Is the Popular Masses' History of Creation

Proceeding from the fact that the socio-historical movement is by nature a creative movement of the masses of the people, the Juche idea scientifically elucidates that human history is the popular masses' history of creation.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Human history is the popular masses' history of creation." (*Ibid*, p 26)

This means that human history has been developed through continued creation of material and cultural wealth of society and transformation and development of the old society into the new one by the masses' creative activity.

We can say that human history is, above all, a history of conquest of nature and continued accumulation of material wealth needed for people's subsistence and progress through the masses' creative activity.

If man is to subsist, he must, first of all, conquer nature and ceaselessly turn out necessities of life for clothing, food and housing

There is a Korean saying "Meal goes before sightseeing of Mt Kumgang". Mt. Kumgang is famous for its scenic beauty long since The saying means that even beautiful Mt. Kumgang has no appeal for one who is missing a meal.

If man is to subsist and develop, food, clothing, shelter and the like are necessary before anything else. In other words, man's subsistence and progress necessitate conquering nature and creating material wealth If production was suspended for a single month on earth, it would cause great confusion in society.

Indeed, it has much importance to human life to conquer nature and produce material wealth needed for food, clothing and housing That is

why ever since man came into existence in the world he has been labouring without a day's break to master nature and acquire material wealth.

The masses of the people make and improve labour tools through their creative labour. It is thanks to their creative endeavours that stone implements were replaced by bronze implements, which, in their turn, by iron implements and man-drawn ploughs were developed into animal-drawn ploughs before tractors have now come to plough the land.

Further, the masses ceaselessly produce materials for living with the help of implements. Let us take the question of clothing for instance. Through their creative labour the masses at first made their clothes with fur to protect their body and then with thread spun out of natural fibres. Later they weaved cloth out of the cotton or hemp they had grown with the help of spinning wheels and looms. Today they produce artificial and chemical fibres along with natural fibres and spin thread and weave cloth by modern machines.

At the same time, the masses, through their creative labour, have transformed the unfavourable natural environment into the favourable for their habitation, enlarge land and produce electricity by damming off the sea and rivers.

Thus, the masses advance history and develop society by conquering nature and creating material wealth through their creative endeavours.

Human history is a history of ceaseless creation of cultural wealth of society through the people's creative activity.

What we mean by cultural wealth here is the popular and progressive culture, that is, the culture which has made a positive contribution to social development. The fin-de-siecle "art" spread by imperialists can by no means be put on a par with the popular culture.

How, then, have the masses created the progressive culture of mankind?

Through their practical activity for transforming nature and society the masses set it as a vital requirement to create progressive culture and promote its progress. All the progressive culture of mankind is created according to the requirement of practical activity of the masses for Chajusong.

Needless to say, science is directly related to the productive activity of

the masses The progressive art, too, has been created according to the requirement of the practical activity of the masses for Chajusong. The pictures drawn by the primitives which may be considered as the maiden work of mankind give crude, yet vivid portrayal of their productive activity.

The masses not only set the creation of cultural wealth as a vital requirement but also supply the experience and materials needed for it and lay up the material and technical means for cultural activity. Science, however wonderful, is the outcome of the practical experience of the masses Many scientific inventions widely known in the world were made on the basis of experience gained from the creative activity of the masses. The same is true of art Subject matters of the progressive art are supplied by the masses of the people The very masses' struggle for Chajusong is the source of the true art and provides its subject matter

The masses create material means for cultural development through their creative activity Were it not for boats built by them, Darwin could not set forth his doctrine of evolution Were it not for paper made by them the famous Russian writer Lev Tolstoi could not have written a single piece of work. Even most talented people are unable to make scientific inventions or create art with sheer brains and bare hands.

The masses create not only conditions for cultural development but also cultural wealth through their creative activity They had been creators of cultural as well as material wealth before they were denied an opportunity to create their culture as they please as a result of class polarization in society and the monopolization of mental work by the reactionary exploiting classes. In exploiter society the masses have been considered to have nothing to do with cultural creation, but it is not so in reality. Though in exploiter society possibilities for the masses' cultural creation are limited extremely, they create progressive culture according to their vital needs The masses make valuable scientific inventions and create progressive art through their creative activity

In short, all the valuable cultural wealth of mankind is the fruition of the creative activity of the masses. This is another reason why human history is the popular masses' history of creation

Yet there is a very important reason for it and it is to be found in that

society has continually been transformed by the creative activity of the masses.

Society is a community where people live and act. Whether the masses lead a happy life as true masters of society or not depends on the character of social system. That is why the masses strive strenuously to transform society for a free and happy life. Basically considered, this agrees with the fact that people subdue nature and produce material wealth to get food and maintain their life.

Ever since the beginning of human history the masses have continued to transform society through their creative efforts for changing the old things. The old social system is replaced by the new one and society progresses by dint of the masses' creative efforts to transform society in order to meet their independent requirements. It is thanks to the masses' creative endeavours that human society which began with primitive society has proceeded to socialist society going through different stages in its development.

Thus, human history is the history of creation in which the masses have continuously increased material wealth of society and developed society through their creative activity.

History assumes a creative nature because it develops by no other things than the creative activity of the masses, the main agency of history.

It is an immutable law governing the development of human society that history and society are developed through the masses' creative activity.

From this principle elucidated by the Juche idea follows the practical conclusion that if the masses are to build a new society successfully their creative role should be enhanced.

Bringing the masses' creative power into full play furnishes the key to hastening the brilliant victory of the cause of anti-imperialism and Chajusong and building a new, free and prosperous society as early as possible.

The Juche idea teaches us this great truth.

2) THE PATH OF CREATION IS THE PATH OF STRUGGLE

Course of History Is Not a Smooth Sailing

There are gorgeous palaces once inhabited by reactionary rulers in many countries in the world Visiting them, inquisitive tourists do not fail to take souvenir pictures But captivated by their splendid appearance, people tend to give no thought to the masses' tragedies associated with their construction Sometimes one even forgets what he himself had suffered from or recalls it with a wry smile after the long lapse of time

It may well be, then, that one looks round such historic remains without thinking of the people's sufferings of the bygone days.

But what interests us here is not the story about the tour of historic remains but how human history has been made So, we must not be simply fascinated by the gorgeous appearance of rare historic relics and remains but think over the masses' bloody history associated with such creations. If we are to build a new society in which people lead a free and happy life, we must know the hard trials the masses underwent in the past.

Any country in the world has a chequered history of its people This shows that the masses, makers of history, have never traversed a royal road Treading the rugged path our ancestors developed society and pushed history forward. We can say without exaggeration that thousands of years long history of exploiting society has been interwoven with blood and sweat of the masses.

Why, then, had the masses to undergo so many vicissitudes, though they were the most powerful and talented beings in the world?

This is what I want to dwell on here.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"Their creative activity to conquer nature and bring about social progress accompanies struggle." (*Ibid*, p 27)

This proposition supplies an answer to the above question. They had to tread a tortuous path because, in a word, their creative activity for advancing history always accompanies struggle.

The masses' creative activity is aimed to abolish all the old things that shackle man's Chajusong and create the new. To harness nature, manufacture necessaries of life and transform society and set up better social system—this is, after all, an activity to abolish the old things and create the new. So it inevitably comes up against resistance of the old.

We can take activity for conquering nature for instance. As is well known to the readers, almost all the significant scientific discoveries and inventions which contributed to the well-being of mankind were not made with ease. Some might think that Newton happened to discover the law of gravitation seeing an apple falling from an apple tree while enjoying himself under it. But it was no more than an occasion offered in the course of his scientific research. If there were no scientific groundwork which was laid by the great efforts of the preceding generations, if Newton did not exert himself to acquire the knowledge accumulated by them and explore the new, how could he discover the law of gravitation at the sight of a falling apple? It has been said from old times that the road of scientific research is by no means a royal road.

The readers may well know what a hard job it is to carry out such nature-remaking projects as to reclaim land from the sea, clear primeval forests for cultivation and build power plants by damming off rivers. Recall the fact that an innumerably great number of people lost their lives in the building of the Panama Canal connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic.

Any and every success the mankind achieved through its creative activity for mastering nature is attributable to the strenuous efforts of a million million of people to reveal the secrets of nature and make its blind force serve man. That is why we call the transformation of nature the struggle with nature.

The people's creative activity for conquering nature often undergoes bitter trials because of the reactionary exploiting classes that are not interested in the transformation of nature.

As is well known, Galilei Galileo, the famous Italian scholar in the

16th century demonstrated by dropping experimentally two weights of ten and one pound from the Leaning Tower of Pisa that the velocity of fall of a body does not depend on its mass, and discovered the law of free fall of a body. He deserved praise for having done it but, on the contrary, was expelled from the Pisa University. He invented an astronomical telescope and proved the validity of the Copernican heliocentric theory by giving account of different astronomical phenomena. For this he was brought to trial and forced to live in seclusion in his native place.

It is not only Galilei who was subjected to the worst persecution by the reactionary exploiting classes in the dark Middle Ages Giordano Bruno was burnt at the stake because he asserted that people live on the opposite side of the globe

The people's creative activity for conquering nature is obstructed by the reactionaries of history even today, in the age of civilization. The fruition of creative labour is set at naught instead of being paid off or natural resources to be developed lie dormant because they do not meet the interests of multi-millionaires. Such instances could be easily multiplied.

The people's creative activity for transforming society is attended by an ever more serious struggle than the activity for gaining the mastery of nature. Replacement of the reactionary old social system by the new one and social emancipation of the masses of the people represent the process of a serious struggle. Examining history we find out that only through a struggle the old social system was replaced by the new one and freedom and liberation of the masses achieved.

John Brown, the leader of the revolt of slaves which broke out in the Virginian State of America in 1859, said on the gallows: "I'm convinced now that the terrible felony of this criminal country can be cleared off only with blood. I think it is a pipe dream to attempt to do it without shedding blood."

John Brown failed to find out the correct way of liberating slaves, but realized through the lesson of blood that it could not be attained without struggle.

Why, then, is social transformation attended by a serious struggle?

It is because any reactionary class does not give up its power of its own accord. How can it be that the reactionary exploiting classes who live like a fighting cock by sweating and oppressing the masses without doing a stitch of work yield their place voluntarily? They make desperate efforts to maintain their position of dominance. In history there is no instance of the reactionary exploiting class yielding power and means of production to the people on its own initiative.

Since the reactionary exploiting classes suppress the people by violence, the people's struggle to transform the old society develops eventually into an armed struggle attended with bloody conflicts. But it is no blame to the people. If they can win freedom and liberation without bloodshed, why should they shed blood? Bloody conflicts occur because the reactionary exploiting classes suppress the people by force. In the past the people in colonies had to wage an armed struggle also because imperialists resorted to force of arms in dominating the people and suppressing the nations demanding independence and sovereignty. If they had not fought, arms in hand, they could not shake off the yoke of colonial slavery.

After all, the masses' creative activity for transforming nature and reshaping society and advancing history means struggle. That is why the lofty undertaking of realizing Chajusong of the masses begins and ends with struggle. The noblest and hopeful life also consists in the struggle.

Growth amidst the Struggle

Considering our remote ancestors' creative power to conquer nature and transform society was quite insignificant, that of people of today is really amazing.

Then, how comes it about that people have such a creative power?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The process of their creative struggle is the process of developing themselves to be more powerful beings." (*Ibid.*, p. 27.)

Before giving an account of this proposition, I would like to make a short remark on the revolutionary opera *Sea of Blood* adapted from the

immortal classic masterpiece *Sea of Blood*. Because it gives a vivid portrayal of the true meaning of the proposition.

The heroine of *Sea of Blood* is a common country woman. She does not know what is revolution, why her country groans under the jackboots of imperialists and why she is badly off All she desires is to work hard to see her children eat their fill even if it is porridge of mixed cereals, and that misfortunes may not befall her small log cabin. Such as she is, she grows to be a revolutionary in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle under the guidance of the revolutionary organization. Practical struggle brings her to the realization that if the poor people are to hew out their destiny they have to make revolution, that for the purpose they must awaken the masses and rally them in organization and that if one is to make revolution one must learn how to read and write. She awakens one village woman after another, forms a women's association and learns how to fight the enemy. Thus she grows to be a revolutionary who leads the masses to the revolutionary struggle

Now, let us come to the proposition.

The masses' creative power is neither inborn nor spontaneous It is acquired and increased continuously through the practical struggle to transform nature and reshape society

For the correct understanding of it, I shall begin with the relation between man's creative ability and activity

Man's creative ability means his ability to remodel nature and society, while his creative activity means the process in which his creative power is used to transform nature and society.Therefore, these are closely related to each other.

There can be no creative activity without creative ability. In this sense, creative ability is a prerequisite to creative activity

Creative ability develops in the process of creative activity. In this sense, creative activity serves as the practical breeding ground of creative ability.

People's creative ability is cultivated in the course of the creative activity to reshape nature and society and when the creative ability increases, it brings about a new creative activity.

Now let us see how the masses' creative ability increases through their creative activity. This is the point to be examined here.

The masses' creative ability grows above all in the process of the creative activity to reshape nature in keeping with their independent requirement. In its process they accumulate the knowledge about nature and learn how to use the laws of nature.

Scholars regard the discovery of fire as the greatest one in the prehistorical age. How then could it be made?

At first people were stricken with fear at the sight of a spontaneous fire and made a mystery of it. It could not be otherwise because they did not know what caused fire and what effect it had on other things. However, later in the process of their activity to conquer nature people came to know that fire is caused by either lightning or friction between trees and realized how to make fire artificially. This marked a milestone in the development of man's creative ability for mastery over nature.

Considering the great change brought about by the discovery of fire in people's life it is not without reason that it was called a great discovery.

It is because people could ward off the cold and, accordingly, began to live scattered all over the vast expanse of land which had been uninhabitable before. This meant a great advance in the struggle to subdue nature. Not only this. The discovery of fire made it possible for man not only to enjoy cooked food, which greatly stimulated the development of his physical organs, but also to manufacture new tools. Indeed, it immeasurably increased man's creative ability to conquer nature.

Moreover, it is in this course of their practical creative activity to subjugate nature that people learned how to use the energy of steam and water. We can say that today's highly automated machines and different production equipments are a complete whole of the knowledge, technology and experience accumulated in the process of practical activity through generations.

Viewed in the light of the creative ability to conquer nature, there is a very wide gap between the peasants of the past who did farming with plough, hoe and sickle and today's farmers who till the land with machine and kill weeds with chemicals and harvest with combines.

This is not accidental but an inevitable outcome of the creative activity to subdue nature.

In a word, the masses become free from the shackles of nature step by step while improving their qualities as creative beings through their activity

At the same time, the masses continuously cultivate their creative ability through the activity to reshape society.

In this course the masses become awakened politically and ideologically and closely rallied in organization, thus growing to be a powerful political force of revolution

A glimpse of the struggle of the people which was waged against exploitation and oppression by capital in the past will suffice to show it. At first workers did not know why they were hard up and what to do to lead a free and happy life Where there is exploitation and oppression, there is bound to be resistance on the part of the people Though workers did not know how to hew out their destiny, they waged a struggle against capital.However, they blamed their wretched plight upon machines, and destroyed them taking issue with capital Further, they were not welded organizationally and accordingly, their struggle was sporadic But they came to realize through revolutionary practice that they could not free themselves from exploitation and oppression by capital simply by destroying machines and that they could not achieve their aim as long as their struggle was carried on sporadically.

As a result, the workers' struggle against capital developed into a struggle for shorter working hours and higher wages. They were bound together into different labour organizations. Revolutionary practice proved, however, that it could not bring about radical improvement of their condition. Eventually they came to learn that only when they abolish capitalist system itself and become masters of power and means of production can they carve out their destiny and that if they are to emerge victorious in the revolution they must be guided by the outstanding leader and the party. As a result, the party, the vanguard of revolution, came into being and the people were closely rallied around it.

This historical fact shows us that the masses of the people cultivate

their creative ability and grow to be true masters of revolution in the practical struggle to reshape society.

The readers may know by experience that people grow amidst the struggle. Of course, people embark upon the lofty path of revolution for the masses in different circumstances. This is because their living and other conditions differ from each other. But they have one common thing; they gradually grow into true revolutionaries through practical struggle.

There is no born revolutionary. Through their practical life people come to realize the irrationality of the exploiter society, hate the reactionary exploiting classes and finally form a resolution to make revolution. People are ceaselessly tempered, learn how to fight and gradually grow into able revolutionaries in the crucibles of the revolutionary struggle.

Biographies of renowned revolutionaries for all ages and countries show that they became revolutionaries in the practical struggles full of turns and twists. Revolutionary practice is, as it were, a smelting furnace in which people are trained as revolutionaries and tempered. Those who have tided over difficulties and trials in practice grow into iron-willed revolutionaries in the furnace and those who yield to them become derelicts. This is a law. Man's creative ability to reshape society increases only in the revolutionary practice.

Like this, the masses of the people continuously cultivate their creative ability in the process of their creative activity to transform nature and society. In a word, they grow in the struggle.

From this we can draw a conclusion that if we are to transform nature and society successfully and realize the masses' Chajusong, we must cultivate their creative ability purposefully in the practical struggle. For the building of communist society where the masses' Chajusong is fully realized, it is necessary to awaken and steadily temper them in the struggle.

3) CREATIVE STAND MUST BE MAINTAINED

We have so far studied that the socio-historical movement is the masses' creative movement. This boils down to the fact that the masses' socio-historical movement assumes creative nature and human history is their history of creation; their creative activity is bound to be attended with struggle and they grow in the struggle

Then, what stand must the masses maintain in consideration of the laws governing the development of social history?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"The revolutionary movement, the creative activity of the masses, requires that the creative stand be always maintained firmly in the struggles to reshape nature and society." (*Ibid*., p. 28)

Let me make a remark on what is the creative stand before going into why we should adhere to it

In short, the creative stand means the stand of believing in the strength of the masses in the struggle to remodel nature and society and solving all problems in keeping with their own actual conditions by giving full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative.

Needless to say, the creative stand is indispensable because all the activities of the masses to transform nature and society and realize their Chajusong are creative. In other words, since the people's activity to remould nature and society assumes a creative nature, we can reshape nature and society successfully and move history onward only when we maintain the creative stand.

Now let us enlarge upon the reason why the creative stand must be maintained in the revolution and construction.

First, it can be explained by the fact that the creative stand is the stand to be firmly maintained by the masses without fail because they are the reshapers of nature and society and hewers of their destiny.

As aforesaid, the masses are masters of history and their destiny. They reshape nature and society, advance history and carve out their destiny through their creative activity.

The masses, masters of history and their own destiny, should maintain the creative stand in order to prove their worth as such.

We have examined previously that the independent stand is an aspect of the attitude to be maintained by the masses, the masters of the revolution and construction. The creative stand is its another aspect.

If one is to be master of nature and society, one must not only defend one's right and fulfil one's responsibility as master in the revolution and construction but also play one's role as such. If one fails to play the role of master, one cannot defend the right and fulfil the responsibility as such. One who fails to prove one's worth as master in doing any work cannot be treated as such.

Thus, the creative stand is indispensable for the masses, masters of the revolution and construction, to play the role as such.

Another reason why one must adhere to the creative stand is that it constitutes the fundamental method to be maintained in the revolution and construction.

Why, then, does the creative stand constitute the fundamental method to be relied on by the masses in the revolution and construction?

As seen above, the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of people. The revolution and construction are undertakings for the good of the masses and of the masses themselves. They have the inexhaustible strength and wisdom to carry out the revolution and construction. Therefore, only by relying on the masses of the people can one correctly judge the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution and construction and successfully overcome difficulties arising in reshaping nature and society. Without enlisting the strength of the masses, the masters of the revolution and construction, one cannot transform nature and society nor win victory in the revolution. History knows no instance of victory won in the revolution without mobilizing the broad sections of the masses.

Further, the creative stand as a fundamental method to be relied on in the revolution and construction makes it possible to solve all problems in

accordance with the actual conditions of the revolutionary movement.

The revolution and construction for reshaping nature and society always take place in a specific reality which is always diverse and undergoes ceaseless changes.

The historically formed national traits and natural and geographical conditions differ with countries; those of European capitalist countries vary from those of Asian and African countries, and African countries are different from each other in their actual conditions, though they are situated in the same continent. Even in a country the conditions of the revolution and construction constantly change with the lapse of time. The internal as well as international conditions of revolution change ceaselessly. In these circumstances, there can be no ready-made solutions to the problems arising in any country and at any time. Therefore, if the people of each country are to carry out the revolution and construction successfully, they must work out a correct policy in conformity with the actual conditions of the country

In order to carry out the revolution and construction successfully in consonance with the actual conditions which ceaselessly change and differ with countries, one must categorically reject such dogmatic way of thinking as to follow the established theories and others' experience mechanically, and solve all problems in a creative way. Otherwise, the revolution and construction cannot be brought to success.

The creative stand is opposed to the dogmatic way of thinking and requires all the problems to be solved in a creative way in keeping with the specific conditions of one's country. Therefore, only by firmly adhering to the creative stand can one formulate correct line and policy in keeping with the actual conditions of one's country and score success in the difficult and complicated struggle to reshape nature and society. That is why we regard the creative stand as the fundamental method to be relied on in the revolution and construction.

One more reason why we must adhere to the creative stand in the revolution and construction without fail is that it constitutes the revolutionary method capable of fully satisfying the requirements of our age.

Ours is an age in which the once maltreated and oppressed masses

have emerged as masters of the world and carve out their own destiny in an independent and creative way.

In many countries the masses have already become masters of power and the means of production and are waging a powerful struggle to build communist society where man's Chajusong is fully realized. Almost all the countries which were colonies or semi-colonies in the past have won national independence and embarked on the path of building a new society. In the international arena a vigorous struggle is going on to put an end to imperialism and colonialism and build a new independent world. Our age when all the nations of the world have joined the worldwide struggle for Chajusong urgently requires the masses to enhance their creative role to the utmost.

When the creative role of the masses is enhanced in every way, not only the revolution and construction in each country but also the struggle to put an end to imperialism and colonialism in the international arena and make the whole world independent will be carried on with success.

Maintaining the creative stand is an indispensable requisite to making the masses masters of the revolution and construction and to successes in the struggle to build a new society, a new world.

By clarifying the creative stand, the fundamental method to be relied on in the revolution and construction, the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea have opened up a bright avenue for winning a brilliant victory for the cause of Chajusong.

4. MASSES' INDEPENDENT IDEOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS PLAYS THE DECISIVE ROLE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The principle that the masses' independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle gives an answer to the

question of the motive force of the socio-historical movement.

In the foregoing chapter, we treated the essence and nature of the socio-historical movement whose main agency is the masses. If we deal with the question of the motive force, our study of the four major socio-historical principles clarified newly by the Juche idea will be consummated A knowledge of these four principles will give you a full and scientific understanding of the question in which direction human society is moving and how and by what force, namely, what kind of laws govern the change and progress of society and history

In order to understand the driving force of the socio-historical movement, it is necessary first to consider the question of what determines man's actions. This is because since the socio-historical movement develops by the agency of the masses, the knowledge of what determines the actions of man, the masses, is essential for the understanding of the motive force of the socio-historical movement

1) WHAT DETERMINES MAN'S ACTIONS?

Man is active all his life There can be no man in the world who does not move. He who is not active is as good as dead.

What, then, determines the actions performed by man ceaselessly from birth to death?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Ideological consciousness determines and regulates all actions of man." (*Ibid.*, p. 30)

It is man's ideological consciousness that determines, regulates and controls all his actions

The principle that independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle is based on this role of ideological consciousness in human activity.

What, then, is ideological consciousness which determines, regulates and controls all actions of man?

What Is Ideological Consciousness?

Ideological consciousness is a content of consciousness. Therefore, it will be proper to begin the explanation of ideological consciousness with the account of what consciousness is.

Some readers who have studied philosophy may take this to be redundant because it is a rudimentary question. But as to the conception of consciousness the Juche idea differs from the former philosophies in many respects. So, I think my explanation will not be superfluous even to them.

The readers will remember the foregoing account that man is a social being with Chajusong, creativity and consciousness.

Here consciousness as an attribute of man should not be identified with consciousness as his senses.

As aforesaid, consciousness as an attribute of man is a quality of the social creature which determines all his endeavours to understand and remodel the world and himself. But consciousness as his senses is not his quality.

What, then, is consciousness as the senses of man?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"It is the sophisticated function of man's brain, the most developed of his physical organs." (*Ibid.*, p. 30.)

Man has more developed physical organs than any other higher animals, and the most developed organ among them is the brain. According to biology, the cerebral cortex which is the most important part of the cerebral hemisphere consists of some 14 billion cells of different forms, sizes and functions. The cerebral cortex consists of sensory cells receiving stimulations reaching the brain from terminals, motor cells producing impulses conveyed from the brain to muscles and association cells connecting different parts of the cortex. The cerebral hemisphere of man which consists of the cortex and various other complex parts plays an important role in man's activity.

The cerebral hemispheres play the central role in the living activity of man.

The brain regulates and controls all functions of the body, receives stimulations from different sensory organs and, in response to them, regulates various functions. For instance, if a man is exposed to the sun in summer, his body will warm up and perspire. This phenomenon is caused by the central role of the brain. When the skin feels hot, this is conveyed to the brain. The brain, in its turn, sends out "instructions" to the sweat glands and capillary vessels of the skin to cope with the heat. Then, the capillaries expand to redden the skin and the sweat glands exude perspiration. Thus, the heat is diffused and people endure the hot weather. The flow of saliva and gastric juice when eating and sleepiness from fatigue, for instance, are all induced by the central function of the brain, which guarantees the living activity of man and without which man cannot live even for a moment

The question what is the role of the brain in the living activity of man is off the point, so I would leave it here Such a cerebral function, though of a lower order, is found in many animals, too.

In addition to the central role in the living activity of man, the brain controls his mental activity This is a question directly related to our subject.

Man always acts positively on the objective world from his vital needs This is accompanied by various mental phenomena. Suppose building a house. Building a house to meet his desire to have a comfortable home, a man reflects on where to build it and how, what kinds of materials, machines and tools to use, how much labour to employ and so on. There will be no one who builds a house without reckoning with such things Where, then, do these mental phenomena take place? They take place in the brain. Injury to a part of the brain sometimes causes loss of sight or hearing, though the eyes or ears are not injured, loss of tongue or thinking. This shows that mental phenomena are caused by the function of brain.

Consciousness is a mental phenomenon taking place in the brain when man takes action according to his vital needs.

By virtue of consciousness, a function of his brain, man understands

himself and the objective world and assumes an attitude toward different things and phenomena.

That *consciousness* is a function of the brain does not imply that animals that have a brain have consciousness. It is true that their brains reflect the objective world because they are also related to it. But the brains of animals only reflect the exterior of the specific things and phenomena of the objective world. Animals, however developed, cannot grasp the essence of things and phenomena and their essential relations. For instance, the monkey picks and eats fruit, but does not know what the fruit is and how a tree bears fruit. This shows that animals have no consciousness although they have a brain.

Animals, too, have a brain, and then why has man alone consciousness?

It is that man is a social being. In the course of leading a community life in social relations and making endeavours to subdue nature, men formed views of this or that kind on the surrounding world and viewpoints and stands regarding things and phenomena occurring in it.

That consciousness is a social product can be proved by the birth of language. Language is a means by which man thinks and expresses his thoughts. Man's mental activity is inconceivable without language. The need for people to communicate their thoughts in social life gave rise to language. From the first people's labour was possible only in community life and, for this, they had to communicate their thoughts with each other. If people had not lived in society but led an isolated life, there would have been no need for them to exchange views and, consequently, language would have been unnecessary.

True, biologically, man's brain is far more developed than animals', and this provided man with physiological conditions for having consciousness. But without social life people would not have acquired consciousness. Moreover, such a high development of man's brain was also due to social life.

That consciousness is a function of the brain does not give cause for regarding consciousness as something material. The brain itself is made of matter, but consciousness, a function of the brain, is not material. Consciousness is mental and ideological. Therefore, consciousness cannot

be seen or felt by hand. Seeing a man sitting calmly without a word, the readers could hardly guess what he is thinking. There is an old fantastic story which says that once upon a time there lived a man who was able to guess people's thoughts at a glance and so detected all wicked men. There was no such man in reality, however. It was a fiction invented by people who wished they could have had such ability, because they were unable to find out people's thoughts just by their appearance

How fine it would be for the honest-minded people if they could read the minds of others only by glancing at them! But regrettably, consciousness is mental, and so no scrutiny of a person's external appearance nor dissection of his brain will give you an idea what he is thinking.

Consciousness manifests itself only through the words and deeds of people. Therefore, in order to know a person's thoughts, it is necessary to closely observe and analyse his words and behaviours However, there are people like the imperialists who are good at covering up their black intentions with flowery words, and so people's words and deeds do not always reveal their thoughts as they are.

The imperialists are now fussing about "aid" and "development of underdeveloped countries" as if they were concerned about the developing countries By hearing their sweet-sounding words alone, you can hardly guess their motives Nevertheless, there are people who give ear to what the imperialists say.

Such behaviour of the imperialists is no more than a trick to cope with the people's increasing consciousness of independence. Therefore, if we are to find out a person's thoughts, we must comprehensively and systematically study their words and deeds and their results.,

What, then, is the substance of consciousness? This question is of great importance to our subject.

Consciousness consists of knowledge and thought. Here knowledge means consciousness which reflects the essence of the objective world and the law governing its movement and development. For example, the earth goes round the sun once in 365 or 366 days; water boils and evaporates at 100°C under the normal atmospheric pressure, two atoms of hydrogens and one atom of oxygen combine to make water. All this is knowledge

which is consciousness reflecting the essence and law of movement of things in the objective world.

Knowledge includes the methods of transformation of the objective world discovered on the basis of the essence and law of movement of objective things. For example, a definite quantity of some kinds of fertilizers must be applied at a set time to raise good crops, or a man must train his body and observe hygiene to be healthy. This is not knowledge about the objective things themselves, but can be regarded as a knowledge about the creative activity of man for transforming the objective things.

Knowledge of natural science which is consciousness reflecting the essence and law of movement of objective things does not assume a class nature. There is no mathematics of one kind for the people and another kind for the exploiting classes. The addition that one and two make three is the same for the people and for the exploiting classes. Knowledge of natural science being this kind of consciousness, natural science itself has no class nature.

But this does not hold good with social science. Indeed, we can say that social science has given a knowledge by clarifying the objective law of development of society in the sense that it reflects the essence and law of movement of the objective world. But because social science deals with social movement of which the main agency is man, it directly reflects the interests of people. So, depending on the positions of people, their views on social phenomena differ. Therefore, in social science, unlike natural science, there are philosophy and economics for the working class and those for capitalists separately.

Then, what kind of consciousness is thought? The readers should pay special attention to this question.

Unlike knowledge which is a consciousness reflecting the essence and law of movement of objective things, thought is a consciousness reflecting man's needs and interests.

People always proceed from their needs and interests in relation to the objective things and phenomena. That is to say that they think if these can be useful to them or not and what should be done to turn them to good account. No man of sound mind will do anything without aim apart from his needs and interests.

may entertain backward ideas. Ideas that lag behind the reality will stand in the way of historical progress.

Progressive ideas which correctly mirror the requirements of the age and the people go ahead of the reality. A progressive idea which correctly mirrors the requirements and interests of the masses not only reflects the present in its content but also anticipates how to transform the present in the future. It is so to say not only a reflection of the reality but also a scientific anticipation of the future. Therefore, progressive ideas illuminate the road ahead of the masses and encourage them in their endeavours to satisfy their requirements and interests.

Ideological consciousness is not an individual but a collective, social consciousness and assumes a class nature.

In class society people belong to some class or social section without exception. Therefore, the social position of every person is immediately the position of his class. Each social class has its own requirements and interests differing from other classes' in line with its social position. Classes differ in their position, and, accordingly, in their interests.

Ideology is collective and social which mirrors the requirements and interests of a class. An idea expressing the requirements and interests of the exploiting classes is the ideology of these classes and an idea reflecting those of the masses is the ideology of the latter.

Social ideas fall into different categories according to the subjects and contents covered by them: politics, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics and so on. Most important of all here is political ideology. This is because it represents the requirements and interests of the political life which holds the most decisive and leading place in social life.

Social ideas make continued progress. It goes without saying that the thoughts of the exploited people of yesterday and today differ from each other.

How, then, do ideas come into being and develop?

First of all, ideas come into being and develop on the basis of definite socio-historical conditions.

The requirements and interests of people always depend on their specific social positions, which will change with the change of the socio-historical conditions. As a result, with the change of the socio-historical

conditions, the ideas of people will change, hence the birth and development of new ideas.

Ideas develop in the course of struggle between the old and the new in the ideological sphere

The history of mankind can be regarded as a history of struggle between the new and the old, which takes place in the ideological sphere, too Thus, in the ideological sphere a struggle takes place between the old, reactionary ideology reflecting the requirements and interests of the exploiting classes and the new, progressive ideology representing the aspirations and requirements of the masses In this course the old, reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes which stands in the way of socio-historical development goes under and the progressive ideology expressing the aspirations of the popular masses, the main agency of history, emerges victorious and makes continued progress

As aforesaid, there are different forms of social ideas covering politics, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics and the like, which develop in close conjunction with each other Different forms of social ideas mirror different aspects of the checkered social life Different aspects of social life are closely related with each other Hence different forms of social ideas cannot but be closely related with each other Therefore, different social ideas inevitably develop in close conjunction with each other

Although the question of ideological consciousness is very complex, this much will suffice for us to pass to the next subject.

Of the aforesaid, the readers are requested to bear in mind, in particular, the point that thought is a consciousness mirroring the people's needs and interests and, therefore, that thought may lag behind or go ahead of the reality.

Patriots and Traitors

As the readers know, the history of every country records the names of patriots and traitors. Then, how is it that names of some people are remembered long by posterity as patriots who rendered devoted services

to the country and the people, while some other people are hated and cursed as dirty traitors who sold out the country and the people?

Some philosophers once said that the course of a man's life has been decreed by fate. This is to say that whether someone becomes a patriot or a quisling does not depend on his will but has been ordained in advance by a supranatural "power".

If people are destined to become patriots or quislings by some supranatural "power" regardless of their own intentions, how can we blame traitors? This is entirely an untenable sophistry.

What, then, makes some people patriots and others traitors?

It is nothing but ideological consciousness.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Ideological consciousness reflects man's desire and interests, and for this reason, it has the most active effect on his conduct." (*Ibid.*, p. 30.)

Knowledge, too, has some effect on man's conduct. But it is ideological consciousness that has the most active effect on it.

The active effect of ideological consciousness lies in the fact that it determines all conducts of man. Knowledge, too, exerts some effect on man's conduct, but cannot determine it.

The behaviours of all men are dictated by their ideological consciousness. Whether a man acts the patriot or the quisling is determined by his ideological consciousness. Those who love the country and the people will be patriots, whereas those who have no thought of the country and the people but only seek a life of comfort will turn traitors.

Why, then, does ideological consciousness determine all human conducts?

It is because thought is a consciousness reflecting man's desire and interests.

All behaviours of man are aimed at meeting their needs and interests. It is to meet their needs and interests that people are engaged in socio-political activity and labour. There can be no human conduct which is not based on the needs and interests of man. Hence all conducts of people are inevitably determined, regulated and controlled by thoughts reflecting their desire and interests.

How, then, do thoughts determine, regulate and control the conducts of man?

First of all, ideological consciousness makes man act with a definite aim and in a definite direction. Man always acts with a definite aim and in some direction Whatever man does, he always has a definite aim and orientation. Therefore, man's actions are purposeful

Since all actions of man are to meet his needs and interests, their aim and orientation cannot be fixed independently of these needs and interests. Ideological consciousness gives man a definite aim and orientation and makes his action purposeful because it mirrors his needs and interests.

Take the readers for example It does not matter whether the readers of this book are workers, farmers, scientists or artists. They are perhaps engaged in useful jobs every day as long as they are not idle exploiters. What, then, is the aim of the daily activities of the readers? It is probably to meet some vital needs Concretely, these vital needs may vary In some cases they are to eat and live, and in other cases, to settle socio-political problems At any rate, everything they do stems from definite vital needs Thus, the purpose and orientation of all actions of the readers are determined by ideological consciousness reflecting their vital needs

Ideological consciousness not only determines the purpose and orientation of actions of people but also the mental and physical energies displayed in their activity

People's activity means, in the final analysis, acting on the surrounding world with some mental and physical energies. Even if the purpose and orientation are set, there can be no human activity without mental and physical energies. To have the purpose and orientation of building a house is not to have a house built. After setting the purpose and orientation of building a house, one must lay its foundation, erect walls, cover it with a roof and do other jobs by expending mental and physical energies. Ideological consciousness makes people who are engaged in some kind of project put forth mental and physical energies correspondingly, because it reflects their needs and interests

Ideological consciousness also determines people's will power. Transformation of nature and society is attended by innumerable difficulties and hardships One must have a strong will to tide over

difficulties and trials. It is precisely ideological consciousness that determines what a strong will power a man can display.

There are many people in the world who made valuable scientific inventions for the benefit of mankind. Their biographies show that many of them went through difficulties in their scientific research. But because they had a strong will, they overcame these difficulties and worked out the valuable scientific inventions. With a weak will, one will get nowhere. This applies all the more to the hard-fought revolutionary struggle to remodel society.

Revolutionaries follow the thorny path of revolution so stoutly because they are equipped with revolutionary ideas.

Ideological consciousness regulates and controls people's actions to suit the specific features of the objects. The objects of transformation by man have their own characteristic features. Actions out of keeping with their characteristic features may lead to the waste of energy or fall short of the aim because of shortage of energy. Ideological consciousness reflecting people's desire and interests will ensure that they act in keeping with the specific features of the objects.

As aforesaid, knowledge, too, exerts a definite effect on people's conduct. A brief explanation of this question will be relevant here in order to clarify the effect of ideological consciousness.

There can be no human activity apart from knowledge. Even the activity of primitive men who made crude stone implements was based on some knowledge, though very poor. There is no doubt that the primitives used stone because they knew that stone is harder than timber or clay. How much more we need knowledge to carry on production activity today when science and technology are highly developed! Raising good crops requires a certain amount of biological knowledge and the know-how of crop cultivation.

Then, what is the effect of knowledge on people's activity?

Knowledge enables people to act consciously in keeping with the nature and law of movement of objective things. People's activity not based on scientific knowledge is doomed to failure. However, knowledge cannot directly stimulate people to an action nor determine it as thought does. It is a common knowledge that eating is indispensable for

maintaining life. But this knowledge does not immediately prompt people to take food. People eat only when they are hungry and feel the need to eat. If people are asked to eat when they have a full stomach, they will refuse it, thinking it a bother. This shows that it is not knowledge but thought that stimulates people to an action and determines it. After all, it is ideas that determine the conduct of people, and the effect of knowledge is no more than ensuring that people's activity stimulated by thoughts proceeds in accord with the objects.

We began this section with remarks on patriots and traitors. Whether a man becomes a patriot or a traitor does not depend on his knowledge but entirely on his thoughts. Learned people not always become patriots and the unlearned are not destined to be traitors. Historical facts show that more patriots appeared from among those who were poor and had no schooling. The history of our country records many wars waged in defence of the country from invaders. It was always the ingenuous masses who fought at the cost of their lives. Though unlearned, they had a more ardent patriotic spirit. Rather, the reactionary rulers who were learned and professed themselves to know everything in the world would betray the country at a critical hour.

In short, all conducts of people are determined by their thoughts. Therefore, the worth of a man must be judged by his ideological consciousness, that is, by his thinking. It must not be judged by the money or property he has. Originally, money was not meant to judge the worth of people but to facilitate purchase and sale of goods. The evil practice of regarding money as a measure of people's worth is a product of capitalist society where even their destiny is trifled by money.

As the conduct of a man is determined by his thoughts, so his worth and quality are determined by his ideological consciousness.

2) WHAT KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS PLAYS THE DECISIVE ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CHAJUSONG?

This section is most important in the fourth of the socio-historical principles of the Juche idea.

In fact, the aforesaid may be regarded as a prelude to this section. So I would like to ask the readers to be especially studious in studying this section.

15 Years of Glory

In 1968 the Havana Cultural Congress adopted the document the *Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle of the Korean People Organized and Waged under the Leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung.*

There is as yet no instance of an international conference adopting an official document regarding the experience of the revolutionary struggle of a country. I think the adoption of the document at the congress reflected the intentions of the people of the three continents to carve out their destiny on their own in whatever difficulties and trials by drawing on the experience of the national-liberation struggle unexcelled in history.

The heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean people organized and commanded by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung was a great struggle in which a colonial people defeated imperialism, a redoubtable enemy, on their own and won the great cause of national liberation for the first time in history. This proved that if the entire people of a country, however small and backward, rise in a struggle with a keen awareness as the master of revolution, they are fully capable of winning a shining victory over a formidable enemy and carving out their destiny on their own.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean people was a

prolonged and arduous struggle. It was a 15-year long struggle unexcelled in history which they waged against the one million strong Japanese imperialist army armed to the teeth, supplying all their needs by themselves, without state backing and support of a regular army. In the history of the international revolutionary movement there are many instances of heroic struggles waged by the people for national independence, but in all ages and countries there is no parallel to the long and arduous anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean people.

What, then, were the factors of the Korean people's victory in this long, grim struggle? Of course, they are various But here I will confine myself to the point pertinent to the present subject

The *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas*—published in different languages—carries many stories which show the lofty ideas and fighting spirit of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters.

There are stories about a heroic fighter who stopped the embrasure of an enemy pillbox unhesitatingly with his chest to make a breach for the guerrillas, about a fighter who, captured by the enemy, bit off his tongue lest he should give away the secrets of the organization even in a trance, about a woman fighter who, with her two eyes gouged out by the enemy, breathed her last shouting "I have no eyes, but I visualize the victory of revolution", about a fighter who amputated his wounded leg with a saw made of tin singing a revolutionary song And so we could go on.

What was it, then, which made the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters devote their all to the struggle for the victory of revolution in spite of such terrible hardships and difficulties?

It was that the members of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army trained by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung had a high sense of being masters of revolution and a firm faith in the victory of revolution

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"The consciousness of independence plays the decisive role in the masses' revolutionary movement for Chajusong." (*Ibid.*, p. 31)

The heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean people proves

that independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong.

Why, then, does independent ideological consciousness play the decisive role in the struggle for Chajusong?

For a correct understanding of this it is necessary to know first what kind of independent ideological consciousness it is. There are various kinds of ideological consciousness, and what is independent ideological consciousness?

Independent ideological consciousness is an awareness that one is the master of his own destiny and a will to carve it out on his own.

The awareness of being the master of one's own destiny is an unshaken idea that one is the master of his own destiny and has the ability to hew it out, and the will to hew out one's destiny on his own is a staunch fighting spirit, a full readiness and a firm resolve to carve it out to the end by himself.

This means that independent ideological consciousness is an ideological consciousness which fully reflects the fundamental requirements and interests of the masses who strive to lead an independent and creative life and develop as the masters of nature and society.

This independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary movement.

As ideological consciousness determines, regulates and controls all actions of people, so independent ideological consciousness determines, regulates and controls the role of the masses in the revolutionary movement for Chajusong.

Why? The revolutionary movement is a purposeful movement of the masses to realize their Chajusong. So, if the masses of people are not aware that they are the masters of their own destiny and do not have a will to work it out by themselves, they cannot wage a revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary movement is an undertaking for and of the masses themselves, and if they have no awareness that they are the masters of revolution and no readiness and resolve to carry out the revolution by themselves with an unflinching spirit in any adversity, how can a revolution ever take place?

If people are not prepared ideologically, they will not come out in the

revolutionary movement even when they are exploited and oppressed. Even if their Chajusong is violated, those who lack independent ideological consciousness will not think of making revolution. The readers will probably find such people around themselves. Those who are not firm in independent ideological consciousness may give up the revolution halfway and, worse still, betray it even if they have joined the revolutionary movement.

Only those who have a keen awareness as masters of the revolution and a firm readiness and resolve to carry out the revolution on their own can turn out in the revolutionary movement and follow its path to the finish in whatever tribulations Thus the revolutionary movement begins with awakening people ideologically and emerges victorious on the strength of the masses of people armed with progressive thoughts.

How, then, does independent ideological consciousness determine the role of the masses in the revolutionary movement?

Above all, independent ideological consciousness leads people to join the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong

Independent ideological consciousness brings people to have a keen awareness as masters of the revolution and a readiness and resolve to carve out their destiny on their own, thereby leading them to take an active part in the revolutionary movement for Chajusong

Further, independent ideological consciousness induces people to fight on bravely without yielding to any trials and difficulties until they win victory in the revolution. The will and fighting power of those who participate in the revolutionary movement are the decisive factors of victory. The revolution signifies an arduous struggle. The revolution is beset with no end of difficulties, and will sometimes involve painful sacrifices *Hence, without a strong will and an unflagging fighting spirit,* one cannot carry the revolution to the end.

Independent ideological consciousness makes people display a strong will and great energy surpassing all imaginations of ordinary people in the revolutionary movement because it reflects the fundamental requirements *of the people for and their interests in an independent life as masters of the* world. Only those who have independent ideological consciousness can tide over all the difficulties and trials lying in the way of revolution and

stick to their revolutionary principle even if they end up on the gallows.

The revolutionary potentiality of the masses is unfathomable, but without independent ideological consciousness it cannot be brought into full play. Only the masses awakened by independent ideological consciousness can give full play to their revolutionary potentiality and secure victory in the revolution.

It is an immutable truth clarified by the Juche idea that independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle.

This principle clarified by the Juche idea can be likened to an invincible "treasured sword" put in the hands of the revolutionary people.

The Role of Ideological Consciousness Steadily Increases

We have so far dealt with the decisive role of independent ideological consciousness in the revolutionary struggle for Chajusong.

Then, does ideological consciousness play the same role in all revolutionary movements?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The role of ideological consciousness steadily increases with the development of the revolutionary movement." (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

This is a law.

Since the revolutionary movement is promoted by people's ideological consciousness, the role of ideological consciousness rises according as this movement develops. If people's ideological consciousness fails to keep abreast of the developing revolutionary movement, the revolution cannot advance.

Now I would like to discuss in a little greater detail why the role of ideological consciousness increases with the development of the revolutionary movement.

Development of the revolutionary movement means, first of all, that the masses participate in the revolutionary struggle on a broader scale. The broader the scale of the masses' participation in the revolutionary

struggle becomes, the higher the role of ideological consciousness rises. What is the reason? It is that when a broader section of the masses take part in the revolutionary struggle, they have to act consciously and in an organized way with a greater awareness that they are the masters of the revolution. When a large number of people join in an undertaking, each of them is required to behave conscientiously. Otherwise, things will go amiss. The same applies to the revolutionary movement. If a broader section of the masses have participated in the revolutionary movement and yet their ideological level is low, it is impossible to forge the firm unity of the revolutionary ranks and ensure concerted action, and this will interfere with the revolutionary struggle.

Development of the revolutionary movement also means that tasks of a higher stage are put forward to realize the Chajusong of the masses. When the revolutionary movement advances to tackle the tasks of a higher stage, the role of ideological consciousness rises that much higher. The reason is that the more advanced the tasks of the revolutionary movement become, the more consciously the masses are required to behave. If the masses' ideological level falls short of the higher tasks of the revolutionary movement, this movement will not be able to move ahead.

Building a communist society which mankind has longed for through many ages represents the highest stage of the revolutionary movement. In this stage the role of ideological consciousness will rise immensely. Let us examine the reason.

Communist society is a society where the Chajusong of the masses is fully realized. It is a society where nature, society and man have been transformed according to the independent requirements of the masses. Such a society cannot be built or advance of its own accord.

Communist society can only be built through the entire masses' purposeful struggle based on a high consciousness that they are the masters of the revolution.

We can understand this well when we compare it with the revolutionary movements of the past. The bourgeois revolutionary movement which overthrew the feudal system took place spontaneously. In this revolutionary movement the question of purposeful participation of the masses with awareness of being master did not come to the fore.

Therefore, in this revolutionary movement the question of leadership of the party and the leader that makes the masses the true masters of revolution was not posed. It is true that this revolutionary movement was prompted by the independent ideological consciousness of people, but it was spontaneous to all intents and purposes.

But the case is different with the revolutionary movement aimed at overthrowing capitalism and establishing the socialist system. Since the socialist revolution is meant to liberate the masses from all kinds of exploitation and oppression, the attitude of the masses as the masters is posed as an important question. Therefore, in this revolutionary movement the leadership of the party and the leader which makes the masses true masters of the revolution comes forward as an urgent problem.

The struggle for building a communist society after the establishment of the socialist system represents a higher stage in the revolutionary movement than that of building the socialist system. Since the struggle for building a communist society is aimed at transforming nature, society and people in conformity with the independent requirements of the masses, this society can be built only by relying on their high consciousness. Grand nature-remaking projects, transformation of all spheres of social life in accordance with the masses' independent requirements, and the great work of making all members of society true masters of communist society—all this can only be carried out by relying on the high ideological consciousness of the entire masses.

The role of ideological consciousness rises enormously in the struggle for building a communist society also because socialist society rests on the high consciousness of the masses.

As the readers know, capitalist society depends on the discipline of hunger and the rod. In this society people only work to evade starvation. It is maintained by the rod called "law". In this society there is and can be no person who works voluntarily for the country and the people, for society and the collective. Its social structure is originally so made as to benefit the capitalists. And how can the masses work conscientiously? So, capitalist society cannot be maintained even for a moment without the discipline of hunger and the rod.

But socialist society differs entirely from capitalist society. It is run

and developed by virtue of the high level of consciousness of the people rather than hunger and the rod. In socialist society which is free from exploitation and oppression of man by man, all its members are concerned for its consolidation and development. So, here collectivism constitutes the basis of social life and comradely union and cooperation are the primary factor of social relations Therefore, in socialist society there is no need for and cannot be a discipline of hunger and the rod. Needless to say, under socialism which is a transitional society, control is necessary The reason is that the residues of the old ideas left over from exploiter society still survive in the minds of people, and thus some people are not conscious enough as the masters But with the elimination of the legacies of the old society in the course of progress of socialist construction, people become more awakened and, accordingly, society makes more rapid progress

Socialist society gives all opportunities for heightening people's ideological consciousness

The press and films of the Western capitalist countries show how corrupt and morbid capitalist society is

Various aspects of capitalist society shown by documentary films are really astonishing Scenes of horrible crimes committed for the sake of money and decadent ways and trends shown by the films cannot be recounted here and so I would like to leave them to the readers' imagination People living in capitalist countries may care little about them because such scenes are everyday occurrences, but for those who have not lived in that society, they are something beyond imagination After all, capitalism is a society where even human thoughts and conducts are dominated by gold.

· But in socialist society prevail the progressive ideas which reflect the independent requirements of the masses. Here all means of modern civilization serve to make people more dignified and powerful.

After seeing the performance of the Mansudae Art Troupe from Pyongyang some time ago, French people said, "This is an art which defends human dignity and gives people the joy of and faith in life." Such voices were also heard in Japan, Italy and England. Do they say so only out of courtesy? Judging by today's situation in capitalist countries, I am convinced that the high tribute paid to the performance of the Mansudae

Art Troupe came from the bottom of the hearts of the people in those countries.

Since socialist society has all necessary conditions for heightening the ideological consciousness of people, it enables the masses there to become the true masters of society and to give full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative energy.

Thus, through the masses' creative role based on a high level of ideological consciousness, socialist society advances towards communist society where the loftiest ideal of mankind is realized.

The tremendous role of ideological consciousness in the struggle to realize the highest ideal of mankind is due to the characteristics of the progressive ideas prevalent in the socialist countries.

The role of ideological consciousness in social progress depends on the nature and content of this consciousness. So, the reactionary ideas of the exploiting classes impede social progress, while the progressive ideas of the working class reflecting the aspirations of the masses give impetus to it.

The most progressive ideas fully reflecting the aspirations of the masses prevail in socialist society where the masses are the masters. Since these ideas most correctly express the law of development of society and the aspirations of the people, they are accepted by the people and embodied in their activity to give a great impetus to social progress.

To summarize the foregoing explanation about the role of ideological consciousness. Ideological consciousness is a consciousness which reflects the wishes and interests of people; it determines, regulates and controls all behaviours of people; hence, independent ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary movement; the role of ideological consciousness increases with the development of the revolutionary movement.

This is the Juche-based understanding of the role of ideological consciousness, the motive force of the socio-historical movement.

From this understanding of ideological consciousness stems an important principle to be observed in the revolutionary movement.

Now let us pass to the question what this principle is.

3) THE MAIN STRESS SHOULD BE PLACED ON IDEOLOGY

It is by no means easy to build a new society where the people will lead a truly free and happy life. Building a new society may involve manifold difficulties and trials

What, then, should be taken as the main link in building a new society successfully by tiding over the difficulties and trials lying in the way of *revolution*?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"*The revolutionary movement is a conscious movement, and for this reason one must always hold fast to people's thinking as the main thing in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Doing this is an important principle that must be maintained in the revolution and construction.*" (*Ibid* p. 34.)

As we have already studied, people's ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the struggle for Chajusong Therefore, in order to secure victory in the revolution and build a new society successfully, people's thinking must be taken as the main factor One might as well try to drive an automobile without a motor as try to build a new society without paying attention to ideological consciousness, the motive force of revolution. Therefore, holding fast to ideological consciousness as the main link is a principle the revolutionaries must stick to anywhere and any time.

If the readers visit hospitals in Korea, they will see all doctors, nurses and orderlies wearing a badge with the inscription "Devotion" on the breast of their white smock.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said that the most important thing for the doctors is devotion born of a deep love of man and earnestly advised them to widely launch a "movement for devotion" among medical workers

Curing diseases necessitates medical instruments and medicines. But the most important of all things is the devotion of doctors to the patients.

People of old times used to say that the physician's is a charitable profession. What can we expect from the scalpel or medicine in the hand of a doctor who has no human love and devotion to his patient? Doctors of our country say that even the surgical knife has a thought.

Some people may ask back; how can the surgical knife which is not a living thing have a thought? The knife in the hand of a doctor serves as an instrument to implement his thought. Therefore, only when it is placed in the hand of a doctor who has a true love for and absolute devotion to man will it serve as a powerful instrument of saving a human life. In this sense, the doctors of our country say that even the surgical knife has a thought.

Whenever I hear of the inhuman behaviours of doctors in capitalist countries who do not care about patients who are on the verge of death when the latter have no money, I keenly realize the true implication of the letter "Devotion" which gleams on the chest of our doctors.

The letter "Devotion" pulsates with the great idea of defence of man and embodies the principle of Juche that the thinking of people must be taken as the main link in everything.

What, then, does it mean to take the thinking of people as the main link?

Putting the main stress on people's thinking in the revolution and construction means solving all problems by attaching capital importance to the ideological factor and enhancing the role of ideological consciousness.

As can be seen, the principle of placing the main stress on the thinking of people has two kinds of contents. One of them is to attach cardinal importance to the ideological factor in the revolution and construction, and the other is to solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction by enhancing the role of ideological consciousness. Attaching capital importance to the ideological factor means making greater account of the ideological factor among the two, that is, ideological and material factors of the revolutionary movement. Solving all problems by enhancing the role of ideological consciousness means settling all matters in the revolution and construction by stirring up people's thinking rather than resorting to technical and administrative methods.

Why, then, must prime importance be attached to the ideological factor?

It is that doing so is in accord with the law of development of the revolutionary movement

The revolutionary movement is always affected by ideological and material factors The reason for this is that people and some material conditions are needed for the revolution and construction. And the decisive role is played here by people and their ideological consciousness. Of course, the material factor, too, plays an important role in the revolution and construction. But the revolution will not break out and emerge victorious of its own accord just because material conditions have been created for it Even if material conditions have been matured enough, the revolution and construction cannot be promoted unless people are aroused ideologically It is people that prepare and make use of material conditions.

Take a familiar example The readers may probably know by experience if they have school-going children What is to be done to make good scholars of children? Buy them a lot of books? No In order to make them good students, it is most important to infuse them with a readiness and resolve to study hard to be faithful servants of the country and the people. No amount of books bought for the children will be of use if they are not prepared to study hard Those who are eager to study will get and read books by all means even if they cannot afford to buy them In exploiter society, they say, poor children make a better showing at school than children of wealthy families. Of course, this will not always be the case, but I think there is some truth in it In general, children of wealthy families who can afford to live in comfort without working do not regard study as an imperative necessity of life, but it is a vital need of poor children who cannot live without working to acquire a knowledge and technology indispensable for a job

The same holds good of the revolution and construction Ideological consciousness is the decisive factor of victory in the revolution and construction. If people rouse themselves to action ideologically, the revolution and construction will forge ahead and emerge victorious even under insufficient material conditions. The necessary material conditions

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for the revolution and construction are prepared consciously by the endeavours of people.

As is clear from this, the ideological factor plays the decisive role in the revolutionary movement. Hence, the main stress should be laid on ideology to carry out the revolution and construction successfully.

Why, then, should one solve all problems by enhancing people's ideological readiness?

Because this is the essential method of the people fighting for the Chajusong of the masses.

Since the revolution and construction are an undertaking for and of the masses themselves, they can be successfully propelled and brought to victory only when the masses participate in them voluntarily with the consciousness that they are the masters. Revolutionary struggle can never be forced upon people. This holds good even after the seizure of power by the masses, to say nothing of the period prior to it. Nothing can go well when forced. The revolution being an undertaking for the good of the people, there is no need to force it on them. Therefore, the revolutionaries must and can awaken people ideologically and encourage them to take part in the revolution willingly.

The principle of solving all problems of the revolution and construction by arousing people's ideological readiness represents a method congenial to the nature of the revolutionaries.

The principle of laying the main stress on thinking is a powerful ideological weapon for securing a brilliant victory in the revolution and construction by giving full play to the revolutionary zeal and creative energy of hundreds of millions of people.

IV. THE JUCHE IDEA ELUCIDATES THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

It is said that the Juche idea is a guiding idea of the revolution and construction in our age It is because the Juche idea presents not only an entirely scientific philosophical outlook on the world and a view of social history, but also clarifies the guiding principle of the revolution and construction.

In order for the guiding idea of the revolution and construction to be perfect, it should elucidate scientifically the philosophical outlook on the world, the view of social history and the guiding principle on which to implement them in practice. Only then can the guiding idea serve as a compass for steering the revolution which can be likened to a ship under sail along a straight course. Thus, it can be an ideological and theoretical weapon for the revolution and construction.

Such an important problem remained unsolved so far.

The readers perhaps know well about it, so I suppose there is no need of further explanation.

Retrospection shows that herein lies one of the reasons why the former struggles of the popular masses for Chajusong had to traverse a tortuous path.

The Juche idea gives the truly scientific philosophical outlook on the world and the view of social history and highlights the correct guiding

principle to be observed in embodying them in the revolution and construction. This is one of the essential features of the Juche idea which is fundamentally different from all the former revolutionary ideas.

The Juche idea which clarifies the guiding principle of building a new society as well as the philosophical world outlook and the view of social history is a guiding idea of the revolution and construction which not only explains the world both in name and practice, but provides a guide to action in transforming the world.

Therefore, when we have a deep understanding of the Juche idea and act as instructed by this idea, we can build a new society successfully along the straight road without twists and turns.

What, then, is the guiding principle of the Juche idea?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The guiding principles of the Juche idea are the guide to establishing Juche in Party and state activities, and in all spheres of revolution and construction. They are explicit fundamental principles which must be observed in successfully carrying out the revolution and construction by adhering to the independent and creative stands and enhancing the role of ideological consciousness." (*Ibid.*, p. 35.)

Establishing Juche in the revolution and construction means solving all problems arising in the revolution and construction with the attitude of a master, according to one's own conviction, in conformity with one's own interests and with one's own efforts. The guiding principles of the Juche idea indicate what should be done in order to establish Juche in the revolution and construction.

The guiding principles of the Juche idea comprise the principles of adhering to the independent stand, of applying the creative method and of putting the main stress on ideology. This means that the guiding principles embody the philosophical and socio-historical principles of the Juche idea.

So, I wish the readers to read this part of the book, bearing in mind the aforesaid philosophical and socio-historical principles of the Juche idea.

1. AN INDEPENDENT STAND MUST BE MAINTAINED

The guiding principles of the Juche idea clarify the principle of adhering to an independent stand.

An independent stand means that all the problems of the revolution and construction must be dealt with in the interests of one's people according to one's own judgement and decision and be solved by one's own efforts and on one's responsibility.

This stand fully meets the basic requirements of the popular masses for leading an independent life free from all the fetters. Only when the revolution and construction are carried out according to one's own judgement and decision, in conformity with the interests of one's own people and by one's own efforts, is it possible to build successfully a new society where the Chajusong of the popular masses is realized.

The principle of maintaining an independent stand involves Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in defence.

It is because only when these four principles are adhered to can the Chajusong of the masses of people be fully realized in all spheres of social life.

Now let me explain these four principles.

1) JUCHE IN IDEOLOGY SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED

Bloody Lesson

Review of the pages of history shows that people went through numerous trials and shed much blood in the struggle for their Chajusong. The struggle for Chajusong is arduous. So it may be accompanied by trials and painful sacrifices. Then, were all the bitter failures and sacrifices of the people in the past inevitable? No. Quite a few of them were avoidable. That is why many politicians and historians reviewed and wrote about the historic lessons drawn from the revolutionary struggles full of bitter failures and vicissitudes. However, they failed to draw the fundamental lesson to be taken by the people, the lesson essential to the victory in the revolution. What, then, is the historic lesson?

When the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung embarked on the road of revolution at his early age, he summarized and analyzed in an all-round way the historic struggle of the popular masses for Chajusong and, on this basis, elucidated that the people of each country should first establish Juche in ideology in order to win a victory in the revolution.

To establish Juche in ideology—this is a most fundamental lesson in the protracted struggle of the people for Chajusong.

Regrettable instances were not wanting in former days in which self-styled revolutionaries drove people into reckless struggle only to make them shed blood in vain or they made a mess of the revolution by taking indiscriminate actions which have nothing to do with the revolution. This is primarily because they failed to establish Juche in ideology and carry out the revolution with a mind of their own. Historical facts show that when Juche is not established in ideology, it may do serious harm to the revolution.

What is the need of establishing Juche in ideology for successful revolution?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"To establish Juche in ideology means having the consciousness that one is the master of the revolution and construction, thinking and doing everything, centring on the revolution in one's own country, and acquiring the viewpoint and attitude of solving all questions by one's own talents and initiative." *(Ibid pp 36-37)*

Establishing Juche in ideology has three aspects. *to have a consciousness of one's being master of the revolution, to have viewpoint and attitude of thinking and doing everything, centring on the revolution in one's own country and to acquire the viewpoint and attitude of solving all questions with one's own talents and strength*

What, then, is the reason for establishing Juche in ideology?

This is primarily because the master of the revolution in each country is the people of that country, and to bring the revolution of one's country to success is the basic duty of the people of that country

As aforesaid, as long as there exist states and borders, the struggle for Chajusong is waged with the state and nation as a unit Therefore, the master of the revolution in each country is the people in that country.

Revolution can neither be imported nor exported like goods Revolution in each country breaks out according to the urgent requirement of the people in that country, not at the dictation of others. It should be performed by the people of that country, its master, on their own responsibility, not by anyone else. Of course, since countries are on certain relations with each other, the revolution in a country may influence other countries and help may be offered to each other However, the master of the revolution in each country is, on all accounts, the people of that country. Unless the people of each country, master of the revolution, rise in a struggle, the support and encouragement of other countries, however great, are of no use.

After the Second World War, revolution broke out and triumphed in many countries. As a result, the popular masses became masters of power and means of production. But in some countries revolution could not break out even in similar objective situation of revolution What was the

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After the Second World War, revolution broke out and triumphed in many countries. As a result, the popular masses became masters of power and means of production. But in some countries revolution could not break out even in similar objective situation of revolution. What was the

reason? This was because the masters failed to discharge their duty properly. Historical facts showed time and again that when the masters failed to play their part well, revolution could not emerge victorious, no matter how good the international situation might be.

Since the master of the revolution in each country is the people of that country, the revolution of each country is the basic duty of the people of that country. Hence, the people in each country should first carry out the revolution in their country successfully.

The people of each country, therefore, should have the awareness of a master towards the revolution of their own country and acquire the viewpoint and attitude of solving all problems in one's own interests, according to one's decision and judgement and by one's own efforts.

Juche should be established in ideology because only when the revolution is successfully carried out in each country can the world revolution be successful.

It is essential for us to get a correct understanding of what is the world revolution and of what course it takes to emerge victorious.

Some people seem to hold a wrong view that if the world revolution emerges victorious, under its influence revolution in each country will be accomplished of its own accord.

As the Juche idea teaches, the world revolution is the struggle of the masses for Chajusong on an international scale.

The world revolution wins a final victory through the process of revolution in which one country emerges victorious after another. Of course, this does not mean that the world revolution is a simple, mechanical summation of the revolution in each country. Viewed in the light of the world revolution, the revolution in each country develops in close relationship with the world revolution as a whole as its link. Therefore, the world revolution has its own strategy and tactics apart from those of the revolution in each country.

However, the revolution in each country has its identity. The independent position of the revolution in each country should not be weakened in the least on the ground that it is a link in the chain of the world revolution. Since each country has its own specific features, it cannot but develop in its own way though it forms part of the current of

the world revolution It may be likened to a marathon race. The runners start from the same starting line and take the same course. However, while conquering some 42 kilometres they come to be much differentiated from each other in speed because of the difference in their physical conditions and way of running If a very simple race brings about such disparity, how can the complicated revolutionary movements which take different starting points and courses break out and triumph simultaneously in all countries? The world revolution is not an abstractive conception apart from the revolution in each country. It is inseparably linked with the revolution in each country Therefore, only when the revolution in each country is successful, can the world revolution make good headway.

Hence the people of each country should first carry out their revolution with credit in order to expedite the victory of the world revolution

The sooner the people of each country emerge victorious in the revolution in their country, the earlier the victory of the world revolution will be won. Only when one carries out revolution in one's country with credit, can one render assistance to others' revolution by one's excellent experiences and practical influence

There is an old saying, "The pot calls the kettle black" This makes fun of the impudence of poking one's nose into other's affairs while failing to play one's part properly Those who fail to play their part properly cannot give substantial help to others Even a mere child knows that a student who is no good at his lessons cannot help others in study. The same is the case with the revolutionary struggle. How can one who fails to carry on the revolution in one's country successfully help the revolution of other countries and with what? If one fails to carry out the revolution in one's country with credit, he will become a burden to others, far from helping them Talking loudly of the "world revolution" while neglecting revolution in their own country is nothing but a lip service the self-styled revolutionaries often offer

The successful revolution in one's own country can make a practical contribution to the solution of the problems of the world revolution as a whole. Today an important question arising in the strategy of the world revolution for the cause of anti-imperialism and Chajusong is to tear off

the limbs of US imperialism, ringleader of imperialism, throughout the world. Only when the powerful political, economic and military strength is built up by carrying out successfully the revolution in one's own country, can a substantial contribution be made to the implementation of the strategy of the world revolution.

In a word, for the victory of the world revolution, too, the people of each country must first carry out the revolution in their own country well and for this purpose Juche should be firmly established in ideology.

Let me touch on another important question before proceeding further.

It is that establishing Juche in ideology is a prime requirement in the struggle for Chajusong. In other words, only when Juche is firmly established first in ideology, can the principle of Chajusong in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in defence be fully implemented.

The revolution and construction is a conscious activity of the people for realizing Chajusong. The popular masses conquer nature and transform society through their purposeful activities so that they may realize their Chajusong step by step.

Like this, because the revolution and construction is the purposeful activity of people, if we are to carry out the revolution and construction with an attitude of master, we must first establish Juche in ideology. It needs no explanation that he who has not the viewpoint and stand of a master cannot attend to his job with a responsible attitude.

Only when people are made to have an awareness of their being masters by establishing Juche in ideology and acquire the stand of thinking and acting, always centring on their own country and that of solving all problems by their own efforts and talents, can we make them work for the revolution in their country with the attitude of a master. Thus, we can say that establishing Juche in ideology is a prerequisite for the implementation of the principles of Chajusong in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in defence.

The foreign friends who visit our country have a great interest in what have brought about the brilliant successes achieved in Korea.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said that all our

successes are attributable to the struggle for embodying the Juche idea, *first of all, to the struggle for establishing Juche in ideology.*

Once one is determined to do, nothing is impossible. Only when Juche is firmly established in ideology, can success be achieved in the revolution and construction work, no matter how difficult and complicated the situation may be. On the contrary, when one lacks the viewpoint and stand of handling all problems according to one's own judgement and decision without awareness of master towards the revolution in one's country and of solving them on one's own responsibility and by one's own efforts, one cannot avoid failure in the revolution and construction. This is a most *important historic lesson to be borne in mind at all times by all the* revolutionary nations, especially small and backward nations.

To Establish Juche in Ideology

We hitherto studied the importance of establishing Juche in ideology. The only understanding of the importance of establishing Juche in ideology does not furnish a solution of the problem. To establish Juche in ideology we should know how to do it.

Then, what is to be done?

First of all we should equip ourselves with the advanced ideology which reflects correctly the aspiration and requirements of the popular masses

Where can we find such an ideology, then?

The inaugural declaration of the International Institute of the Juche Idea said:

"The Juche idea is an idea consistent with the basic aim and desire of the peoples of our time who demand Chajusong and want to live as their own masters; it is an idea which has unfolded a vivid picture of future society in which man's Chajusong is finally materialized. That is why progressive mankind hold this great idea dear."

Basing itself on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, the Juche idea elucidated the great truth that the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of

people and they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. This instils in the minds of people a keen awareness of their being masters of revolution.

The Juche idea also clarified that the masters of each country are the people of that country and that they are also the motive force of the revolution in their own country. This makes people take the firm viewpoint and attitude of always thinking and doing, centring on the revolution in their own country and of solving all questions of the revolution and construction by their own efforts.

That is why people assert that the progressive people who are fighting for Chajusong of the popular masses should learn from the Juche idea.

In order to establish Juche in ideology one must have thorough knowledge of one's own things.

The readers must have heard of the "1,000-*ri* journey for learning". The story goes: Upholding his father's instruction that one must know well about Korea to carry out the Korean revolution, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung left Badaogou in northeast China alone at the tender age of 11 and made the one thousand-*ri* journey through fresh snow to Mangyongdae where he was born. The "1,000-*ri* journey for learning" was later followed by the "One Thousand-*ri* Journey for National Liberation", which opened up the glorious path for the Korean revolution which advanced triumphantly under the banner of the Juche idea. Today millions of the younger generation of our country trace the course of the "1,000-*ri* journey for learning" bearing the sacred footprints of the fatherly leader in order to prepare themselves to be dependable successors to the Korean revolution.

Why, then, should one be versed in one's own things to establish Juche in ideology?

This is because only when one knows well about one's own things, can one solve all the problems of the revolution and construction in the interests of one's people in conformity with the actual conditions of one's own country and by one's own efforts maintaining the position of master.

The people of each country carry out revolution and build a new society in their own country. Even if communist society is built on a

worldwide scale in the future the Koreans are bound to live in Korea, Tanzanians in Tanzania and the Guyanese in Guyana.

There are differences between countries They differ in historical backgrounds, languages and customs Their natural and geographical conditions, too, differ from each other. How can one build a new society without knowing one's own things under these conditions. Without knowing history of one's own country, customs and sentiments of one's own people, one cannot do anything in accordance with the interests and appetite of one's own people. And when one is ignorant of the natural and geographical conditions of one's own country, one cannot build industry in keeping with the interests of one's people and the actual situation of one's own country, nor can do farming in accordance with natural features of one's own country. Ignorance of one's own things means ignorance of one's own strength Without knowing one's people and the resources in one's own country, one cannot display one's strength When one does not know about one's own things, one gives no thought to making revolution by one's own efforts Hence, in order to build a new society in the interests of one's people by one's own efforts, maintaining the position of master, it is essential for one to know about one's own things well

It is true that one must also know about things of others in order to build a new society. However, study of things of others is in all situations aimed at carrying out revolution in one's own country successfully When one does not know one's own things, knowledge of things of others, however ample, will be of no use and can be a source of trouble.

There lived a *ryangban* scholar who had boasted of his "knowledge", while being engrossed in reading books of foreign countries day and night One day, reading a book of a southern country, he slapped his lap and called his farmhand and said· "Now *ripchun** is over, plough the field and sow seeds quickly."

* In Korea and China a year is divided into 24 solar terms in order to mark the charge of season *Ripchun* is one of the 24 solar terms. It falls on February 4 or 5 *Ripchun* means the setting-in of spring However, even if it is *ripchun*, spring does not come in all regions because of the latitudinal difference

The farmhand replied in wonder:

"Fields are still covered with snow!?"

At this the *ryangban* got angry and said, "What an ignorant man! It is spring when *ripchun* comes round. This book says that the sooner you sow seeds in spring, the more crops you will gather. So, sow seeds without complaint."

So, the farmhand sowed seeds and they were frostbitten. This resulted in a crop failure, so the funny story goes. He who is ignorant of his own things is none other than a quasi-learned man, no matter how much he may know about other's things. This is a case of "Quasi knowledge brings calamity".

If one is to establish Juche in ideology one must know one's own things well. This is because only when one knows well about one's own things, patriotism and revolutionary enthusiasm are stirred up.

Juche in ideology is unthinkable apart from patriotism and revolutionary enthusiasm. It is obvious that those who lack patriotism and revolutionary zeal cannot solve all questions in the interests of their own people by their own efforts and with the attitude of master. Patriotism and revolutionary zeal are not an abstract conception. They are tangibly expressed in the loving care of every grass and tree in one's own country and in prizing the history, tradition and customs of one's people. When one is ignorant of his people and the history and resources of his country, how can he become patriotic and display enthusiasm to turn his country into a paradise? There can be no patriots nor revolutionaries who are blind to their own things in the world. Therefore, if one is to foster ardent patriotism and great revolutionary enthusiasm, one must have a thorough knowledge of one's own things.

In order to establish Juche in ideology one must possess national self-respect and revolutionary self-confidence.

National self-respect means having the pride of one's nation being not inferior to others: the revolutionary self-confidence stands for the pride and self-confidence befitting revolutionary people. Without such national self-respect and revolutionary self-confidence one cannot live with a mind of one's own independently, nor can defend national

independence nor emerge victorious in the arduous revolutionary struggle.

The nation with a high sense of national self-respect and revolutionary self-confidence is invincible while the nation that lacks them is bound to be impotent.

And more particularly the small and backward countries that had long been in bondage to other countries should acquire national respect and revolutionary self-confidence. As is known to the readers, in the former days the imperialists pursued vicious colonial assimilation policy and the policy of obliteration of national culture in order to maintain and consolidate their domination over the colonies. They attempted to destroy totally the national culture of those countries and pressed them to change even the names of towns, villages and persons after their fashion. The former names of many places in Africa furnish a striking proof of this. Hence, the former colonial countries should lay particular stress on enhancing national self-respect and revolutionary self-confidence among the people. Only then can Juche be firmly established in ideology.

In order to establish Juche in ideology it is essential to develop national culture and raise the level of culture and technology of the people.

Without building the culture which is revolutionary in content and national in form, the Juche culture which is responsive to the sentiments of one's people and fully reflects the independent requirement of the popular masses, the mental life of people cannot be sound, nor can Juche be established in ideology.

In order to develop such national culture, imperialist cultural penetration must be prevented before anything else. Today the imperialists are intensifying their ideological and cultural infiltration by crafty methods in an attempt to subordinate and rule the newly-emerging countries again. A typical example of this is the "peace corps" rigged up by *the US imperialists. The US imperialists are spreading their corrupt* culture and Yankee way of life to these countries, speaking about "aid" and what not as if doing a kindness. If we fail to prevent their cultural *penetration, people will be ideologically maimed and infected with various* reactionary ideas alien to the consciousness of national independence. That is why the question of preventing imperialist cultural penetration is

really an important one decisive of the future destiny of nation.

In order to develop national culture both the restorationism and national nihilism must be rejected.

To develop national culture it is necessary to inherit and develop the cultural heritage of one's people, which has both good and bad aspects. The culture which was created in the former days when the popular masses failed to be masters of society and, accordingly, real masters of culture, cannot be all good. Therefore, we should oppose the restorationist tendency of glorifying things of the past indiscriminately and the nihilistic tendency of disregarding all things of the past and inherit and develop what is good in the culture of the past in keeping with the requirement of the people of today.

Besides, it is necessary to introduce foreign culture. Here, one should critically review and introduce what is progressive for the good of one's people.

It is also important to develop science and technology and raise the level of culture and technology of the people.

Have-nots will turn to others for help. One of the main reasons for the deep-seated flunkeyism and national nihilism revealed among the peoples of certain countries is found in the backwardness and low level of their science and technology. So one must do one's best to develop science and technology rapidly and raise people's level of culture and technology.

To establish Juche in ideology we should oppose all sorts of old ideologies including flunkeyism.

Establishing Juche in ideology itself is an ideological liberation for getting people rid of all sorts of old ideological fetters and an ideological revolution for forming the world outlook of Juche.

Some people blindly hold aloof from any ideology.

They say: "I have no ideology. It has nothing to do with me, whether it is capitalist or socialist ideology." Is this right?

Can there be a person devoid of any ideology? No, there can not be. Since man is a social being with ideological consciousness, there can be no man devoid of any ideology in the world as far as he is not a stone or wood. In other words, there can be no ideological vacuum for man. If man has not any ideology, he is no longer a man. Since ideological consciousness is

invisible and people's level of consciousness is different from each other, not all can assert that they have their own ideology. However, everyone has a sort of idea as far as he is human.

Let us take the case of those who say "I have no ideology" for example. This kind of people are found among those who are leading a decent life in exploiter society. Their utterance itself expresses their ideology. In other words, their utterance itself reveals their ideological consciousness reflecting their social position in capitalist society in which they can lead a decent life.

As mentioned above, man is bound to have an ideology. In the exploiter society of long duration the exploited people cannot but be infected with the ideology of the exploiting classes. In this way more or less old ideology persists in the minds of the exploited people.

Some people may think they have no old ideology because they have never lived in exploiter society. However, they can be infected with it through their parents or friends. Therefore it is wrong to think that one has no legacy of the old ideas just because one was born and grew up in a society free from exploitation.

Since everyone has an old ideology, at least its remnants, a stubborn struggle should be waged against the old ideology to establish Juche in ideology. Only when the old ideology is eliminated from the mind of people, can it be filled with the correct world outlook and Juche be established in ideology.

Primary attention should be paid to the old ideology, flunkeyism in particular. This is because flunkeyism is the biggest obstacle to establishing Juche in ideology.

Flunkeyism is an idea of slavish subservience of serving and worshipping the big and developed countries and, at the same time, an idea of national nihilism of despising one's own country and nation.

He who is infected with flunkeyism looks up to and follows others. As a result, he has his independent judgment paralyzed and cannot tell right from wrong. When others take to revisionism, such a person also turns to revisionism and when others acquire dogmatism, he follows suit, just like reeds swaying in the wind.

As the great leader instructed, when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot; when a nation takes to flunkeyism, their country falls into ruin; and when a party acquires flunkeyism it makes a mess of revolution and construction. There is a bitter lesson that one made a mess of the revolution because he, imbued with flunkeyism, acted as others did and as told by others like a fool.

Viewed in this light, flunkeyism is an idea alien to the attitude of a master towards revolution and it is an enemy of the Juche idea. That is why to establish Juche in ideology we should resolutely oppose flunkeyism. This is all the more serious question for the small and backward countries.

When flunkeyism is thoroughly overcome, people can take the correct viewpoint and attitude befitting master of the revolution.

2) THE PRINCIPLE OF CHAJUSONG IN POLITICS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED

Why Should the Principle of Chajusong Be Maintained in Politics?

Explanation of the need of adhering to the principle of Chajusong in politics must be begun with what politics is. In order to know why anything is necessary for our life we should be aware of what it is. Politics is a complicated social phenomenon, so it cannot be explained in a word or two.

People have led a political life for long and there had been innumerable people who had been called politicians in all ages and countries. But I wonder the so-called politicians had a correct understanding of what politics is, to say nothing of the ordinary people.

As mentioned above, how the people understand and transform the world depends on their world outlook.

Since there was no world outlook which provided an absolutely

correct view, viewpoint and attitude on the world there could be no correct understanding of politics.

How, then, have people understood politics so far?

I cannot deal with it in detail here, so let me take one or two illustrations.

In former days the reactionary rulers and their mouthpieces regarded politics as governing the populace, as a tool for ruling the people Some people stated that the populace should be ruled by law, some others alleged that reward and punishment be meted out properly to rule the populace and yet others insisted that the populace be ruled by virtues. This shows that they regarded politics as ruling the populace, though their assertions differ in some respects This clearly reveals the stand of the reactionary rulers to rule the people

With the development of society the "assertion" of the reactionary rulers gradually changed and the bourgeois politicians do not say openly that politics is designed to rule the people.

Some history books describe Lincoln as a benefactor to the liberation of Afro-American slaves or as a popular statesman.

This kind of view is hardly tenable. It is true that Lincoln advocated the emancipation of slaves, but his motive and intention are problematic He won the favour of the honest-minded people by advocating the emancipation of slaves. However, he did not even raise the problem of emancipation of slaves in the early days of the Civil War. As the war got into full stride, for the victory of the war it was necessary for him to win over to his side the Afro-American slaves who accounted for four millions of the nine million population of the south. Besides the industrialists of the north needed "free" wage slaves, but not farm slaves Lincoln's advocation of slave emancipation stood for the interests of the industrialists of the north. Even if he is honest-minded, a president of a capitalist country can hardly conduct politics for the people

Today the imperialists talk differently about politics However, their views do not essentially differ from those of the former rulers in that they regard politics as a means of ruling the people It is quite natural that the reactionary rulers consider politics as a means of dominating the people

In fact politics has served as an instrument for ruling the people in exploiter society.

Since the reactionary exploiting class employed politics as an instrument of governing the people, the former progressive thinkers who had somewhat advocated the interests of the people began to conceive politics for the people. But their conception of politics did not go beyond the bounds of exploiter society. So, theirs was an infeasible day-dream.

The Marxist theory shed a new light on the conception of politics.

Marxism understood politics to be a tool for class domination and, on this basis, considered that politics is a product of class society and that extinction of classes will put an end to politics. And it held that in order to implement politics for the masses the old exploiting system should be abolished and power be seized by the working class.

How, then, does the Juche idea understand politics?

Based on a new man-centred world outlook, the Juche idea regards politics as a social function of organizing and commanding the activities of people in a coordinated way in the common interests of a class or society.

On closer examination, it can be seen that the Juche idea does not associate politics with class alone. In other words, it makes clear that politics is necessary in the classless society as well as in the class society.

What, then, is the new understanding of politics by the Juche idea grounded on?

Society is composed of innumerable individuals who have different needs and abilities. Hence, maintenance of society and social life requires a social function of regulating and controlling different needs and activities of people in a coordinated way. Without this function, the collective life and joint activities of people are infeasible, and accordingly society cannot be maintained nor can be advanced. This gave rise to the social function of organizing and controlling the activities of people in common interests of a class or society in a coordinated way. This is none other than politics. So, politics is not a product of class society, but came into being with the birth of society. Yet, this gives no reason why one should regard politics as something supra-class in any society. In class society politics assumes class nature in any case. In exploiter society where the interests of people conflict with each other, there can be no politics that fully meets the

interests of all people. There cannot be politics satisfying the demands of capitalists and workers when the interests of capitalists and workers flatly contradict each other as in the Western capitalist countries. So, politics in class society assumes class nature. The politics of the exploiting class stands for its interests while the politics of the masses, their interests.

Since politics is a social function of regulating and controlling the position and role of all social members in a coordinated way, it is a sector that is of decisive significance for social life. Therefore only when people become masters of politics, can they become masters of society and satisfy their demands and interests. And only when they become masters of politics, can they become masters of the economy, culture and other sectors of social life

The need of adhering to the principle of Chajusong in politics emanates from such essence of politics. In other words, since politics means the social function of regulating and controlling the activities of people in the common interests of a class or society in a coordinated way, the popular masses should become masters of politics and conduct it in their interests in order to realize their Chajusong Adherence to the principle of Chajusong in politics is aimed at meeting this requirement

What, then, does adherence to the principle of Chajusong in politics mean?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"Maintaining Chajusong in politics means upholding national independence and sovereignty of one's people, defending their interests and conducting politics by relying on them." (*Ibid*, p 41)

Maintenance of Chajusong in politics has two aspects. One is to uphold national independence and sovereignty, and the other is to defend the interests of one's people and to conduct politics by relying on them

Why, then, should the principle of Chajusong be maintained in politics?

This is because political Chajusong is the first criterion and the life and soul of an independent sovereign state.

By an independent sovereign state we mean the country that is independent in politics, self-supporting in the economy and self-reliant in

national defence. The most important here is political Chajusong. As mentioned above, this is because politics holds the most important position in social life.

There can be no independent sovereign state without political Chajusong. Only when a country maintains identity in formulating and implementing all the lines and policies by realizing Chajusong in politics and exercises complete equality and sovereign right in foreign relations, can it be called an independent sovereign state.

Political Chajusong is the first criterion and, at the same time, the life and soul of an independent sovereign state. If a country loses political Chajusong, it cannot be virtually called a state. Likewise, if man loses his Chajusong, he is as good as dead. The country whose national independence is trampled underfoot and which can do nothing for its people cannot be called a state. People build up a state and live to realize their Chajusong. If a country fails to defend and realize Chajusong of its people, it cannot be called a genuine state.

Since political Chajusong is the first criterion and the life and soul of an independent sovereign state, the principle of Chajusong in politics must be maintained before anything else. Only then can the country achieve national prosperity and realize Chajusong of the popular masses.

Another reason why this principle should be maintained is that the revolutionary cause for realizing Chajusong of the masses of people is dependent on political Chajusong.

By nature, revolution is a difficult and complicated undertaking. In addition, today the people wage a revolutionary struggle in the face of the incessant aggression and interference of the imperialists and dominationists. Such being the situation, if political Chajusong is not thoroughly maintained, revolution cannot be carried out. If one moves at other's beck and call, he cannot carry out revolution, and eventually will make a mess of it. As mentioned above, some people made a mess of revolution because they danced to the tune of others without Chajusong in politics. This happened not long ago, but in our age. I would like to point out this fact with all the emphasis at command.

Maintenance of the principle of Chajusong in politics is a serious

matter relating to the destinies of the country and the nation and of the revolution.

The Way of Maintaining the Principle of Chajusong in Politics

The Juche idea clearly shows the way of maintaining the principle of Chajusong in politics.

What should be done, first of all, to guarantee Chajusong in politics?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said.

"In order to ensure political Chajusong, it is imperative to set up a people's government." (*Ibid.*, p. 42.)

This is because only when the popular masses seize state power, can they achieve their Chajusong.

State power implies political control. In other words, state power means the power to exercise political control over society. Whether the independent right of people is guaranteed or not is decided by whether they have state power or not. This is why state power is the basic factor determining the position and role of people.

The reason why the popular masses making up the overwhelming majority in exploiter society have to suffer from exploitation and oppression is that they do not have state power. Meanwhile, the handful of exploiting classes can dominate, exploit and oppress the people at will because they have state power which controls the instruments of brutal force such as police, jail and army. Accordingly, to realize Chajusong, the popular masses should first become the masters of power.

In the foregoing chapter it has been pointed out that to be the masters of society, the masses should become masters in politics. In order to become the political masters, they should first become the masters of power. Only when the masses of the people are in power, can they become the masters of politics, realize political Chajusong and, further, lead an independent and creative life in all domains of social life.

To guarantee political Chajusong, internal political forces should be built up.

Politics must be backed up by force. In order to ensure government for its own people, each country should possess force great enough to support it. Without force, the government cannot be maintained. And even if it is maintained, it cannot frame and implement lines and policies in keeping with the interests of its people. I think the readers know the instances that a government built up through an arduous struggle has collapsed overnight, or even though there is a government, it can do nothing at will, only studying other's face. What is the reason? The main reason is that it has no force to back up independent politics.

Then, what is the force capable of supporting politics?

This consists in political, economic and military forces. Altogether they are called revolutionary forces. The political force is most important among them. It is the united strength of the popular masses.

Since the masses of the people are masters of revolution and construction, their strength should be firmly united, first of all, in order to conduct independent politics. If only one has the united strength of the popular masses, one can repulse all sorts of aggression and interference and maintain political Chajusong. History has proved this through the revolutionary practice of many countries.

In order to ensure political Chajusong the people of each country ought to possess their guiding idea.

The guiding idea is a compass of revolution and construction. Without a correct guiding idea one cannot formulate the line and policies in keeping with the interests of one's people, nor can one maintain consistency in state activity, going this way and that. Then, the revolution and construction cannot go well. Therefore, in order to be successful in the revolution and construction, one should have a guiding idea reflecting correctly the aspirations and requirements of the popular masses.

Since the actual situation differs from country to country, such a guiding idea should conform to the situation of one's country.

Only when we are guided by a correct idea can we clearly distinguish right from wrong and thoroughly adhere to political Chajusong without dancing to the tune of others.

To guarantee political Chajusong, it is essential to exercise complete sovereignty and equal rights in foreign relations.

The Chajusong of a state finds its expression in foreign relations. Therefore, only when complete sovereignty and equal rights are exercised externally, can political Chajusong be ensured

Originally, it is a sacred right of every country and nation to exercise sovereignty and equality in foreign relations.

There are countries large or small, developed or underdeveloped, but they cannot be classified as privileged or non-privileged. All countries are equal and independent Therefore, no one is entitled to interfere in other countries, ordering them to do this or that. And no country should tolerate such interference Only then can each country exercise its independent right in reality and ensure its political Chajusong.

Let me say a few words more on the relations between Chajusong and internationalism

The Juche idea teaches that Chajusong and internationalism do not conflict but are interdependent and integrated

However, there are people who think Chajusong incompatible with internationalism. I should like to ask them if they can make a genuine friend with one who only demands them to be obedient to him without respecting their personality. Perhaps none of them will answer they can

The same is true of the relations between countries Apart from Chajusong, there can be no real international solidarity and friendship How can we maintain friendship and solidarity with a country that does not respect the sovereignty of other countries and interferes in their affairs? We repudiate the imperialists because they invade other countries to infringe on their sovereignty

International solidarity can be genuine only when the Chajusong of every country is firmly maintained.

Originally, international solidarity must be voluntary and based on equality. And if international solidarity is to be truly voluntary and equal, the Chajusong of countries should be thoroughly guaranteed

The way of maintaining Chajusong is the only way for the revolutionary countries to unite and cooperate with each other to carry on their revolution successfully and make a positive contribution to the world revolution.

3) THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY MUST BE MAINTAINED IN THE ECONOMY

People are all concerned, more or less, about the economy. It is natural that the people who cannot live even for a moment without food, clothing and housing take interest in the economy. *The Wealth of Nations* of Adam Smith who is called the founder of the European classic economy and many economic theories well known to the world are all born of the deep interest of people in the economy, I should say.

The economic life itself, however, is complicated, and intricately bound up with other sectors of social life. It is obvious to everybody that people cannot live without food, clothing and shelter. But it is not easy to understand what kind of the economy should be built in a country if it is to guarantee the independent life of its people materially.

As long as there exist countries and boundaries, the economic life of people is managed with a country and nation as a unit. Hence, in order for people to lead an independent material life, it is essential for them to know how to develop the economy of the country.

The principle of self-sufficiency in the economy clarified by the Juche idea shows the way for building the economy capable of ensuring an independent life of the people materially by embodying the requirements of this idea in the sphere of the economy.

Now I should like, first of all, to dwell on the need of maintaining the principle of self-sustenance in the economy.

"A Servant Saddled with a Debt"

There is an old saying about "A slave saddled with a debt". It is about the lot of a slave who had to serve others because of his debt. In ancient slaveholding society it was provided by law that a person be made slave of

the creditor in case he fails to pay his debt. The same was almost true of the era of feudalism Innumerable are heart-rending old tales about the poor people who, unable to pay the debt, were made slaves or deprived of their beloved wife and children, who were also made slaves Among them there are many shocking stories that because of father's debt his sons and grandsons were made lifelong slaves. Viewed in this light, the old saying about "A slave saddled with a debt" tells of lesson drawn by people in the long course of their life in exploiter society and the experience of life that they should become independent in their economic life not to be enslaved. However, the old saying tells of the lot of an individual and a family.

How do matters stand with the case of a country and nation?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said

"The economy is the material basis of social life. Economic self-sufficiency enables one to consolidate the independence of one's country and live independently, provides a sure guarantee for Juche in ideology, independence in politics, and self-reliance in defence and ensures rich material and cultural lives for the people." (*Ibid* p 44)

Self-sustenance in the economy, in plain terms, means that in the economy each country stands on one's own feet and builds up economic life by its own efforts

What is the need of self-support in the economy, then?

In order to get an idea of the need of self-support in the economy, we should first get a correct understanding of the fact that the economy is the material basis of social life. In short, this means that any social life cannot be provided with material guarantee, apart from the economy

Social life involves political and cultural lives, which cannot be maintained without material conditions Only when people have food and clothing, can they engage in political life, and to conduct political activities they should have various material means. The same is true of cultural life. Educational work, literature and art and physical culture and other affairs related to the cultural life of people cannot be carried out without material means. Hence, the economy is called the material basis of social life because it furnishes all the material means essential for our life

Since the economy is the material basis of social life, we can first

consolidate the independence of the country and live independently only when economic self-sustenance is guaranteed.

Economic self-sustenance is an important criterion of an independent sovereign state. When a country is not independent economically political independence is nominal even if it is achieved. In other words, it is an independent state in name only, but not in deed. No social life can be maintained apart from the economy, which is its material basis. The country which is not independent in the economy, an important sector, cannot be called an independent sovereign state. The country dependent on others economically is bound to be a satellite of other country. The nation which is subject to others economically cannot be free from colonial slavery like a person in debt cannot escape the lot of a slave. In former days the peoples of many countries were reduced to imperialist colonial slavery mainly because they failed to achieve self-sufficiency in the economy and remained backward.

True, almost all the former colonial countries have already won political independence. However, it is a gross mistake to think that they are completely free from bondage to others because they have won political independence. In order to be a completely independent sovereign state, it must be independent economically.

This is all the more so because the imperialists are craftily working to hold the new-emerging countries in bondage. One of old tricks employed by the imperialists to subordinate the new-emerging countries is to shackle those countries economically, thereby reducing their political independence to nominal one. Today the imperialists are noisily mouthing "aid" as if they are ready to help the new-emerging countries. A few people give ear to them. Is there any country that developed its economy in the interests of its people on the strength of the "aid" of the imperialists? No one may give an affirmative answer to this question. If anyone insists that there is such a country, he must be an agent of imperialism. The "aid" much vaunted by the imperialists is designed to subordinate the backward countries economically and further put them under their sway politically. It must be remembered that the imperialists are sweet-mouthed in spite of their evil hearts.

Some still attempt to subordinate and rule others. What will be the

destiny of a country, if it is not self-supporting economically? If the country fails to stand on its own feet economically, it inevitably turns to others for help. Then the country will inevitably be shackled to others economically. As a result, political independence won with blood will be virtually nominal. Only when each country achieves self-support in the economy, can it be a completely independent sovereign state.

Economic self-support is also necessary for one to live by one's own efforts.

As long as there exist countries and boundaries, the economic life is bound to proceed with a country as a unit. Such being the situation, each country should build up its economic life by its own efforts. A nation, however small its population may be, cannot subsist relying on others.

Since there are countries and boundaries, a nation cannot subsist relying on the help of others. It is wrong to try to live off others. Nothing is more servile and shameful in the world than to live by begging. The people of each country must definitely lead a worthy life by their own efforts.

One must attain economic self-support to live by one's own efforts. Only when one is independent economically and produces daily necessities mainly by one's efforts, can one lead a worthy life on one's own without being indebted to others.

Needless to say, countries conduct trade with each other. And necessary goods can be imported, but not all the necessary goods. There is a limit. They are expensive and cannot be purchased in right time. Today food problem has become acute on a world-wide scale and the grain prices jumped up. It is hard to buy grain at will at that. Today some one billion population in the world are suffering from food shortage. This shows that if we fail to be self-supporting economically and achieve self-sufficiency in food, we might die of hunger, far from living in plenty.

Here is another question. With the advance of society the people's demand for material and cultural life constantly rises. We cannot meet the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people if we fail to turn out, in the main, the necessaries of life by our own efforts and turn to others for them.

After all, economic self-support is essential for building up the economic life of the country well and living by one's own efforts.

Economic self-support is indispensable for Juche in ideology, independence in politics and self-reliance in national defence.

Since the economy is the material basis for social life, it exerts great influence on all the sectors of social life. This is because economic self-support constitutes the material conditions for implementing the principle of Juche in all spheres of social life.

Economic self-sustenance is, in the first place, the material condition for implementing the principle of Juche in ideology.

In a word, establishing Juche in ideology means to firmly equip people with independent ideological consciousness. If a country fails to achieve self-sustenance in the economy and depends on others economically, ideologies of different hues inconsistent with independent thinking are bound to breed.

Why are flunkeyism, dogmatism and idea of dependence on outside forces and other ideas alien to independent thinking bred in the minds of people?

One of its main reasons is that the country is not self-supporting economically and its economy is dependent on others. When one is weaker than others and dependent on them, one is bound to turn to others. Only when the country builds up economic life for itself by attaining self-support in the economy, people will be able to have a high degree of national self-respect and independent consciousness and thoroughly establish Juche in ideology.

Economic self-sustenance is essential for maintaining the principle of Chajusong in politics.

When one is dependent on other countries economically, one is apt to study the faces and moods of others and cannot do or say what is on mind. One cannot but curry favour with others in spite of indisposition because one's life is dependent on others. Economic self-support alone makes it possible to shape and implement all the lines and policies in the interests of one's people according to one's decision and judgement and exercise complete sovereignty in the sphere of foreign relations.

Economic self-support is the material conditions for maintaining the principle of self-reliance in national defence.

When one's economy is dependent on others, one cannot build up a

powerful war industry in defence of one's country. Then it is impossible to equip the army with modern weapons, put the entire people under arms, and fortify the whole country.

When one has not one's own powerful war industry to defend the country one has to import weapons and other munitions. But no one will and can offer a large amount of arms and other munitions. Today prices of arms are settled as asked, and nothing is more attached with strings than arms deal. The money to buy so many weapons presents a problem and if one has money, one cannot buy them as one wishes.

Defence capacity is inconceivable apart from economic power, and self-reliance in national defence is unthinkable apart from economic self-support. Economic self-sustenance alone makes it possible to maintain the principle of self-reliance in national defence.

Truth is accepted by people sooner or later. It is already an irresistible trend of our times to advance along the path of economic self-support. The people are convinced that the road of economic self-sustenance alone is the road of national independence and prosperity.

What should be done to achieve economic self-support, then?

Way to Economic Self-Support

We can say that this question is, after all, a question as to what economy to build and how.

What kind of economy, then, should first be built for economic self-support?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il pointed out:

"In order to implement the principle of economic self-sufficiency, one must build an independent national economy." (*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.)

An independent national economy means the economy that stands on one's own feet without depending on others, the economy which serves one's people and develops relying on the resources of one's country and by the efforts of one's people.

An independent national economy has two main characteristic features: one is that it always serves one's people, and the other is that it is

relying on the resources of one's country and the efforts of one's people.

Viewed in this light, this economy enhances the position of one's people and depends on the role of one's people.

That is why the line of building an independent national economy is called the line of embodying the Juche idea in the economy.

Only when one builds the economy which serves one's people and relies on the resource of one's country and the efforts of one's people, can one improve the people's life rapidly by developing the productive forces and adhere to Chajusong in the international relations and make an active contribution to strengthening the international revolutionary forces.

It should be stressed that the building of an independent national economy poses itself as a question of vital importance for the countries which have been backward in the economy and technology due to the former imperialist colonial rule. Unless they build an independent national economy these countries cannot be fully free from imperialist domination and subordination because the imperialists are even now scheming to subordinate them.

Of course, it is by no means easy for the new-emerging countries backward in the economy and technology to build an independent national economy. Since the economy bequeathed to them by the old society was extremely backward and deformed, how can it be easy for them to build a developed independent national economy which can provide the people with the independent material and cultural life for themselves?

If one does not build an independent national economy on the ground that it is difficult to do so, one cannot shed backwardness for good and ought to live by begging.

If one is to lead an independent life without being subjected to others, one must build an independent national economy at all events. There is a saying, "Hardship is followed by pleasure". Only when one builds an independent national economy even if it requires great efforts, can one live in plenty and firmly defend the dignity of the country and nation.

How to build an independent national economy, then?

The Juche idea supplies a definite answer to this question. Let me mention the gist of it.

In order to build an independent national economy, the principle of self-reliance should be maintained in economic construction before anything else.

The principle of self-reliance means solving all questions arising in building a new society by one's own efforts Without the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, one cannot wage arduous and complicated revolutionary struggle to the last Since economic construction, too, is a revolutionary struggle, without the spirit of self-reliance one cannot *undertake the arduous and complex tasks facing the construction of an* independent national economy He who lacks the idea of self-reliance can do nothing. If one is not ready to do on one's own, one cannot display creativeness and balks at the slightest difficulties. Where there's a will, there's a way. If one makes strenuous efforts relying on oneself, one can build an independent national economy in any adversity But one cannot build an independent national economy for ever, if one does not make efforts without putting faith in one's strength

The principle of self-reliance emanates from the nature of an *independent national economy*

An independent national economy means the economy which serves one's own people and relies on one's resources and the efforts of one's people Dependence on the resources or the strength of others is not in the nature of an independent national economy By relying on the strength of others, one cannot build an independent national economy. What is built in reliance upon the strength of others, cannot be operated or developed without depending on others. The factory fed with foreign raw materials or built by the techniques of others cannot be run continuously without them *Only by relying on one's resources and the efforts of one's people*, can one build a self-supporting economy, and run and develop it continuously on one's own Each country ought to build the economy by one's own efforts relying on oneself If each turns to others for help, who can help? Therefore, to build an independent national economy, it is imperative to maintain the principle of self-reliance.

The economy should be developed in a diversified way and comprehensively to build an independent national economy.

Developing the economy in a diversified way means to build up all the

branches of the economy; the comprehensive development of the economy, to arrange all the processes of production of raw and other materials to the production of half-finished and finished goods.

Why then should the economy be developed in a diversified and comprehensive way?

This is because only when the economy is developed in a diversified and comprehensive way, can the independent material and cultural life of one's people be guaranteed satisfactorily. If people are to subsist, they must be provided with food, clothing, housing and other necessaries.

The essential commodities number hundreds of thousands. These goods should be supplied to the people to provide them with abundant material and cultural life. This requires different branches of the economy to be built up. This applies to the solution of food problem alone, apart from the problem of clothing and housing. In order to solve food problem, one should develop agriculture, and for this purpose, make tractors and other farm machines because one cannot do farming barehanded. This requires machine industry. Manufacture of machines requires metallurgical industry turning out various metals, mining and coal industries for digging up ores and coal and power industry producing electric power. And fertilizers and agricultural chemicals are needed for farming. Hence, chemical industry should be built to manufacture them. Solution of food problem alone involves different branches of the economy like this. How then can we turn out tens of thousands of articles needed for our life without developing the economy in a diversified way?

The same is true of the problem of developing the economy comprehensively. We cannot use raw materials or half-finished goods. So, in order to fully satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people on one's own, all the production processes of raw and other materials to finished goods must be arranged. However much cotton and wool are gathered, we cannot have them on as they are. Cotton and wool must be spun into threads and then woven into cloth to make clothing. For this purpose the relevant processes of production should be all arranged.

The diversified and comprehensive economy is also necessary for developing the economy stably and rapidly.

Now that the division of labour is highly developed the economy

cannot advance safely and rapidly if it lacks any branch or process of production. As is known to the readers, when the world-wide economic upheaval took place, a number of countries were affected by it. This is because their economy was not diversified and comprehensive. If the economy is not developed in a diversified and comprehensive way, quite a few equipments, raw and other materials should be imported. In this case it cannot but be affected by the economic upheaval in other countries. If *the economy is to be immune from the world-wide economic upheavals it* must be developed in a diversified and comprehensive way so as to meet one's needs mainly by home production.

To build an independent national economy it is imperative to equip the economy with modern techniques and train one's own technical personnel in a big way.

If one fails to achieve technical independence, it can not be said that one attained economic self-support. Ours is the age of science and technology. One cannot but rely on the techniques of others in the economic life when one has no developed techniques of one's own. Only when one has one's own techniques, can one make effective use of the natural resources of the country and settle the problem of developing the economy in a diversified way. For lack of techniques today quite a few countries which have ample raw material resources fail to exploit them positively or at best produce raw materials or half-finished goods and export them at cheap prices and instead import machines, equipment and other goods at high prices. In order to level off such inequality the *developing countries should quickly solve the question of techniques and,* on this basis, develop the economy in a diversified and comprehensive way. Only when one has developed technique of one's own, can one successfully solve the question of liberating the people from arduous *labour and the fetters of nature completely.*

Economic self-sufficiency necessitates training native technical personnel in a big way. This problem poses itself as a particularly important one for those countries which have embarked on building a new society because they had no technical personnel of their own due to imperialist colonial rule.

An independent national economy is, by nature, the economy which

serves one's people and relies on the strength of one's people. Such economy can never be built with the help of foreign technical personnel. Of course, the developing countries may employ foreign technical personnel in some measure in the early days of building a new society. However, they should not entirely depend on them. They ought to train the native technical cadres in every way, though difficult, and build the economy and then manage and operate it, relying on them. Only then can one build the economy truly serving one's people and depending on the might of one's people.

In order to build an independent national economy the raw material and fuel bases of one's own should be firmly laid.

As is known to the readers, production cannot be carried out without raw materials and fuel. Therefore, relying on others for raw materials and fuel is as good as leaving the control lever of the economy to others. Whatever big and modern factories you may build in great numbers it is of no use if raw materials and fuel are not available. At present, for example, some of the countries that imported factories with great expense, cannot operate them for lack of raw materials. As a result, they are only saddled with debts. So, they should also import raw materials to run the factories. The factories fitted with foreign installations and fed with foreign raw materials can hardly be called one's own.

In order to achieve economic self-sufficiency and develop the economy safely with a long sight, one's own solid raw material and fuel bases must be created. It is true that each country cannot meet all the needed raw materials and fuel with home production. But the major raw materials and fuel needed in large quantity should be supplied by home production. To this end, each country should tap its natural resources to the maximum and effectively use them, and develop a Juche-oriented industry fed with home materials and fuel from the outset.

As seen above, only when the country's economy is developed in a diversified and comprehensive way on the principle of self-reliance, is equipped with modern techniques, one's own native technical personnel are trained and the firm raw material and fuel bases of one's own are established, can an independent national economy be built.

In conclusion, let me refer to the relations between an independent

national economy and the international economic cooperation.

At present a few people seem to hold a wrong view that an independent national economy runs counter to the international economic cooperation, identifying building an independent national economy with building a closed economy. This is quite wrong.

Building an independent national economy by no means implies building autarky An independent national economy is opposed to the economic domination and subordination by other countries, but does not reject international economic cooperation. In particular, close economic and technical cooperation between socialist countries and new-emerging countries play an important part in guaranteeing the economic self-support of these countries and strengthening their economic power.

Today the new-emerging countries are fighting to defend their sovereignty and natural resources against the imperialists' policy of aggression and pillage, to put an end to the old international economic order favourable to the imperialists alone and establish a new, fair one. In order to wage this struggle well and build an independent national economy successfully they should closely cooperate with each other economically The new-emerging countries are fighting for the common goal of anti-imperialism and independence and have a wealth of manpower and material resources and various excellent experience and techniques. Therefore, if they closely cooperate with each other, they can build the economy successfully without being "indebted" to great powers

However, the economic cooperation between countries should be subordinated to the building of an independent national economy in each country What is the aim of the economic cooperation between countries? It is aimed at rapidly developing the economy of each country. Then it should serve the building of an independent national economy capable of ensuring an abundant, civilized material life for the people of each country. Economic cooperation is in all cases a means of building a self-reliant economy, but it cannot be the aim of economic construction. The economic cooperation which does not serve the building of an independent economy in each country is virtually nonsense

We should bear in mind that when each country builds an independent economy, it can help each other better. If a country is not self-

supporting economically, it is bound to lag behind. How can it help others when it has nothing to help with? The have-nots cannot exercise sovereignty in the international economic relations. Only when each country builds a solid independent economy, can it take an active part in economic cooperation on an equal footing and give a substantial help to other countries.

In a word, an independent economy does not conflict with the international economic cooperation, but promotes it.

Building an independent national economy is the absolutely correct way to economic independence. Therefore, people say that the line of building an independent national economy is the line of economic construction to be invariably pursued in the building of a new society.

4) THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE MUST BE MAINTAINED IN NATIONAL DEFENCE

Can One Defend Oneself on the Strength of Others?

The question of national defence is an important one decisive of the destiny of a country. From old times the country that neglected military affairs was subjugated by others.

How then should a country and nation solve the question of national defence to protect itself?

The principle of self-reliance in national defence elucidated by the Juche idea supplies truly correct answer to this question.

First of all what does it mean to maintain the principle of self-reliance in national defence?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"Implementing the principle of self-reliant defence means defending one's country by one's own efforts." (*Ibid.*, p. 51.)

The principle of self-reliance in defence also derives from the

principle that the masters of revolution in each country are its people Since the masters of revolution in each country are its people, they ought to defend the country with their own strength.

The readers perhaps happened to be exposed to rain, not taking an umbrella with them When one has not one's own umbrella at hand, one may be exposed to rain. Likewise, when a nation has no strong defence capacity of its own, it cannot beat back the attack by aggressors.

Rain is a drop of water So, when one is exposed one may get wet or catch cold at worst. But dark war clouds send not drops of water, but drops of fire So, in the war people might be killed and a country and nation be ruined for ever.

Viewed in this light, maintenance of the principle of self-reliance in national defence is very important

Why should the principle of self-reliance be maintained in national defence?

Originally, self-reliance in national defence is a fundamental principle *of an independent sovereign state*

Since all the countries cannot emerge victorious in the revolution *simultaneously, the countries that first won a victory in the revolution* build a new society when imperialism exists Imperialism is the root cause of aggression and war Aggression and war go with imperialism

Earlier, when the United States went over to the stage of imperialism, President Roosevelt proclaimed war as the "state policy" of the United States. He said. "We cannot confine ourselves to a peaceful life within our boundaries. We should pay attention to the world's events for our prosperity. And we should also hold sea supremacy and extend our influence beyond our boundaries". The ensuing actions of the United States are perhaps well known to the readers.

Today, of course, the imperialists cannot act at will as before. However, even today no imperialism gives a thought to ending the war. It is an open secret how it is bent on armament expansion. If the imperialists have no intention of provoking war, what is the use of such armament expansion for them? Not only that. They egg on their henchmen to fight a war for them at every opportunity, and sometimes perpetrate armed intervention for themselves. Here it is in place to recall ex-President

Carter's threat of using violence in case the oil-producing countries do not yield to their request.

As long as imperialists, the root cause of aggression and war, exist, an independent sovereign state cannot be built without implementing the principle of self-defence.

Self-defence originally is in the nature of man. A country should have a means to defend itself. Only when a country has self-reliant defence power capable of defending its sovereignty, people and territory from imperialist aggression, can it be called a completely independent and sovereign state.

The implementation of self-reliance in national defence is a military guarantee for the political independence and economic self-sufficiency of a country.

Self-reliant defence power alone can safeguard the political independence of the country. In the past a number of countries were conquered by the imperialists because they had no defence power capable of defending themselves. There can be no reasoning with the pirates who attack others! Telling aggressors to cease invasion is tantamount to advising wolves not to attack sheep. If aggressors attack, there is no alternative but to destroy them like wolves. Only then can the independence of a country be maintained. For this purpose a nation must have a strong defence power.

Self-reliant defence is indispensable for economic independence.

The building of an independent national economy requires peace. If peace is to be maintained, one must have powerful defence capacity. Peace can never be maintained by begging imperialists for it. It can be preserved only by the resolute anti-imperialist struggle. The lip service to the opposition of the war policy of imperialists is of no great significance.

In short, in order to create peaceful condition for economic construction one must have a strong self-reliant defence power capable of frustrating the moves of the imperialists to provoke a war.

The implementation of the principle of self-reliance in national defence is also indispensable for exercising complete sovereignty and equality in the sphere of foreign relations.

The country incapable of defending itself by its own strength has no

say. When one relies on others in national defence, he is bound to study their faces and moods and cannot say freely what is in his mind. Any sensible man can easily find such cases in the events taking place on the international arena today. Hence, powerful self-reliant national defence capacity is essential for complete sovereignty and equality in the sphere of foreign relations

Of course, in national defence one may get help from fraternal countries and friends, too The countries building a new society under the banner of anti-imperialism and Chajusong ought to help each other in the field of national defence. But it is impossible to depend wholly on others for the defence of one's own country In any case, the main thing is one's own strength Only when one is strong, will foreign aid prove effective. Defence work, too, is an undertaking for the people and of the people themselves. If all the people participate in firm unity in the defence of the country under the leadership of the revolutionary party, they will be able to repel all imperialist aggressors and safeguard national independence and revolutionary gains

What then is to be done to effect the principle of self-reliance in defence?

Way to Genuine Self-Defence

It is by no means easy to build a defence power capable of defending oneself by one's efforts. The building of such defence power may somewhat interfere with economic construction and the life of people.

However, one should implement the principle of self-defence, even if it requires great efforts, in order to shed imperialist colonial slavery and to lead a worthy life as the people of an independent sovereign state.

What is to be done and how, then?

The Juche idea illuminates the entirely correct way to building up the defence power capable of defending one's country by one's own efforts.

In order to implement the principle of self-reliance in defence, one must build up armed forces capable of defending one's country in the first place.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"In order to implement the principle of self-reliant defence, one must have armed forces capable of defending one's country." (*Ibid.*, p. 51.)

A war, in fact, is the confrontation of armed forces by armed forces. Therefore it is fundamental to national defence to build up strong armed forces.

How then should armed forces be built?

The self-reliant armed forces must embrace the sons and daughters of the people. Since the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of people, the masters of defence are also the popular masses.

The world's war history shows it was always the popular masses who had most valiantly fought for the freedom and independence of the country. Let me take one or two examples. When the fascist Germany began armed aggression on Czechoslovakia, Hacha, the then President of Czechoslovakia, giving in to the pressure of Germany, signed the disgraceful "joint statement" to the effect that the destiny of the Czechoslovak people will be left in the hands of Germany, thereby justifying the fascist Germany's aggression on Czechoslovakia. But the Czechoslovak people fought at the risk of their lives. Those who have ever read a prisoner's note by Czechoslovak journalist Julius Fucik are perhaps well aware how devotedly the true sons and daughters of the Czechoslovak people fought for their homeland. The same is true of France. When the Maginot line the French reactionary rulers believed in as in God was broken through they yielded to the German aggressors and went so far as to collaborate with them, far from fighting against them. But the true sons and daughters of the French people fought resistance struggle to the end. The true patriots were always the masses of people in all ages and countries.

Therefore, we can build a strong self-reliant armed force capable of defending the country's independence and the dignity of the people when it embraces the sons and daughters of the people. An army made up of the sons and daughters of the people only can guarantee solidarity between the army and the people and between men and officers, and can fight for the people with all devotion.

In order to implement the principle of self-reliant defence, a defence

system involving all the people and the whole country must be set up.

What is most important here is to turn the entire army into a cadre army and to modernize it.

Turning the whole army into a cadre army enables all the armymen to *acquire the ability to undertake duties of a higher rank; modernization of* the whole army is to equip firmly it with modern arms, combat equipments, modern military science and technology.

In order to win a war an army must be qualitatively superior, and have a certain quantitative strength and be well armed. In the past the *new-emerging countries failed to frustrate imperialist aggression because* their army was of substantially lesser strength and its armaments were inferior in comparison with those of the imperialists.

Turning the whole army into a cadre army enables all the servicemen to perform the duties of the next higher rank, and thus qualitatively *strengthen it, and quickly multiply its strength in case of need* Modernization of the whole army equips it with modern armament and military science and technology, and thus makes it invincible

What is important in establishing an all-people, all-nation defence system is to arm all the people and fortify the whole country

Putting all the people under arms means making all the people ready to fight, arms in hand, in case war breaks out; fortification of the whole country means building up solid defences across the country and fortifying major military strong points militarily.

Modern warfare is three-dimensional war. So, in fact no demar*cation line can be drawn between front and rear. Hence, in order to repel* imperialist aggression successfully all the people should be ready to fight with arms in hand, and the whole country be turned into a strong fortress.

A hedgehog is a small animal, but big and strong animals do not dare *to attack it, because its body is covered with spiny hairs. In other words, its* whole body bristles with defence means

The same is the case with a country. When all the people are under arms and the whole country is fortified, aggressors, *however superior in* number and in military techniques, cannot dare to attack it. Therefore, in

order for small countries to repel imperialist aggression on their own, they must arm all the people and fortify the whole country.

For implementing the principle of self-reliant defence, it is important to give full play to the politico-ideological superiority of the people's armed forces.

The decisive factor for victory in war does not consist in weapons or techniques, but in the high political and ideological principles of the popular masses who are aware of the justice of their cause. The army made up of the soldiers, who have the lofty revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of the people, ardent patriotism and peerless self-sacrificing spirit which are expressed in willingly giving up one's youth and life for the sake of the homeland, warm revolutionary comradeship and the inseparable links between the army and the people, and voluntary military discipline, can fully defeat the enemy, however superior in military techniques.

The readers may have heard of the Inchon landing operation of the US army in the days of the Korean war. This operation conducted under the command of the so-called "five-star general" MacArthur was a large-scale operation which the US bellicose generals themselves compared to the Normandy landing operation. Some years ago the US imperialists and their stooges played a farce of producing the film *Inchon*, by suborning the Japan Toho Motion Picture Company, which violently distorted the historical facts to play up America's "mightiness" and its "services".

It is a fact that the Inchon battle was a big one rare in the world's war history. One shore battery of the Korean People's Army defending a small island—Wolmi—fought with four guns against over 1,000 aircraft, 300-odd warships and 50,000-odd strong forces for three days, and sunk a large number of the US warships and mercenaries in the sea. This renowned battle displayed to the whole world the invincible might of the Korean people who have become the master of the country, instead of the "mightiness" of the United States, and adorned one page of the history of people's liberation war. The US 24th Division Commander Dean lost his division at Taejon and was taken prisoner. It was an unsolved riddle, he said, that the Korean People's Army which was a two-year old regular army fought against the US army.

It must be an unsolved riddle for Americans. How can the American mercenaries who were dragged out into the seat of the aggressive war understand the great strength of the Korean People's Army men who willingly dedicate the one and only life for the beloved motherland and find more worth of life in creating happiness than in enjoying it?

The Korean war clearly showed that the decisive factor affecting victory in the war lies in the *politico-ideological superiority of the* revolutionary armed forces That is why the principle of self-reliance in defence requires that the army and the people be closely knit from a *politico-ideological point of view*

In order to implement the principle of self-reliance in defence, one must build one's own defence industry.

A large amount of weapons and combat equipment are required to modernize the entire army, to arm all the people and to fortify the whole country. The enormous need for them can be by no means met on the strength of others It is impossible to obtain or buy such an immense quantity of arms and combat equipment from other countries

Moreover, weapons are renewed in less than a year Such being the situation one cannot modernize the entire army, put all the people under arms and fortify the whole country, depending on the strength of others.

Of course, it would be difficult for small countries to produce all the necessary arms right away for themselves, but even so, they must not rely on others for all the arms. What are needed must be made for oneself as far as possible, *and the weapons needed for the building of the self-reliant* armed forces in the future must be, in the main, produced by one's own *efforts. This requires that one's own* defence industry be built and developed without hitch.

It is important to fortify the rear in order to implement the principle of self-reliance in defence.

The outcome of modern war depends largely on whether or not manpower and material resources necessary for the war are fully ensured for a long period. This is because modern war invested with an enormous quantity of mass-destruction armaments requires an immense quantity of manpower and material resources unlike former wars. Therefore, a nation must build up strategic zones, store up necessary material reserves, and

make full preparations from the peacetime so as to continue with production even in case of a contingency.

We have so far dealt with the principle of self-reliance in defence elucidated by the Juche idea. This principle clarified anew by the Juche idea serves as a guideline for those countries that have attained national independence to defend themselves by their own strength.

2. THE CREATIVE METHOD SHOULD BE APPLIED

What we have studied in the foregoing chapter is the first guiding principle elucidated by the Juche idea. The principle of applying the creative method comes next.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"If we are to carry out the revolution and construction as required by the Juche idea, we should apply the creative method both in mapping out the policy, strategy and tactics of the revolution and in implementing them." (*Ibid.*, p. 54.)

In order to build a new society the creative method should be applied along with maintaining the independent stand. The independent stand is a basic stand to be maintained to defend one's right as master of the revolution and construction and fulfil one's responsibility as such, while the creative method is a fundamental method to be relied on to fill the role of masters.

You may recall here that giving an account of the philosophical socio-historical principles of the Juche idea, I have remarked creativity constitutes an essential quality of man and the socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the popular masses.

The creative method stems from man's creativity and creative nature of the socio-historical movement.

The principle of applying the creative method involves two methods,

that is the method depending on the popular masses and that suitable to the actual situation. This is because the revolution and construction are the undertaking of the popular masses, their masters, for transforming nature and society, their objects

So, in order to be successful in the revolution and construction, one should bring out the creative power of the popular masses in every way on the one hand and, on the other, carry them on in accordance with the actual conditions of the objects.

I would like to explain these two methods one by one.

1) ONE SHOULD DEPEND ON THE MASSES

A General by Himself Is No General

A saying goes, "A general by himself is no general". There is some truth in it Because however extraordinary he may be, he cannot be general, if he has not soldiers

However, this saying, like all other old sayings, does not tell of any revolutionary principle. It only shows a lesson which people have drawn from their life in the course of long years.

It is no doubt that in the past, too, people waged a struggle for Chajusong thinking what is the strength to transform the world and what force they should rely on to meet their aspiration and desire. In this course emerged people like the Narodniks in Russia who put up the slogan, "Into the midst of the people", advocates of enlightenment in many countries and thinkers with more progressive views.

However, a scientific theory of revolution can be founded only on the scientific world outlook. In the past many people tried to find out how to solve the social contradictions in their own way, but they failed due to the lack of scientific world outlook

On the basis of their own scientific world outlook, *the founders of* Marxism elucidated that the working class is possessed of the might which

can entomb the conflicting capitalist system and build a new society free from exploitation and oppression.

Basing itself on a new scientific, man-centred world outlook, the Juche idea newly elucidated that if one is to emerge victorious in the struggle for Chajusong of the popular masses what strength one should enlist and how.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The success of the revolution and construction depends, after all, on how the creative efforts of the popular masses are utilized.

"Since the masses are the decisive force that propels the revolution and construction, one can successfully solve any difficult problem and energetically speed up the revolution and construction only when one relies on them." (*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.)

The method of depending on the popular masses is the method of solving all problems arising in the revolution and construction by utilizing the creative efforts and talents of the popular masses.

Why should all the problems of the revolution and construction be solved by depending on the popular masses?

This is because, in a word, the decisive force that propels the revolution and construction is the masses of the people.

As the socio-historical principle of the Juche idea instructs, the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of the people and they are also the motive force in the revolution and construction. The masses are performers of the revolution and construction and also capable of carrying out the revolution and construction.

Since the revolution and construction are the work for the good of the masses, they themselves should undertake the revolution and construction. No one can carry out the revolution and construction instead of the popular masses. So, if they are not mobilized, the revolution and construction cannot be successful, not to speak of an outbreak of revolution. In order to build a new society, the new-emerging countries should conquer nature and transform society. And this is done by the popular masses. Therefore a new society cannot be built without their active participation.

The masses of the people are not only the performers of the

revolution and construction, but have inexhaustible strength capable of carrying out the revolution and construction. They are the most powerful and wise beings in the world No one is more intelligent than they. I think this requires no further explanation because I have already referred to it dealing with the socio-historical principle

Since the popular masses are the most powerful and sagacious beings, any difficult problems arising in the revolution and construction can be successfully solved only if they turn out, conscious of their being masters

The success in the revolution and construction depends, after all, on how the creative efforts and talents of the masses are utilized The most important lesson drawn from all of the unsuccessful revolutions teaches that unless the strength and talents of the masses are properly utilized, the revolution is doomed to failure And the experience of historic importance gained in the victorious revolution is connected with organizing and mobilizing the popular masses

The method of depending on the popular masses is the key to the solution of all the problems arising in the revolution and construction and serves as a powerful weapon for carrying out the building of a new society successfully. This is a truth confirmed by the struggles of the masses for Chajusong

In Order to Enlist the Strength of the Masses

As mentioned above, although they are the masters of the revolution and construction, the masses cannot fulfil their responsibility and role as such of themselves They must be brought into contact with leadership We can say that leadership to the revolution and construction means, after all, enlisting the strength and talents of the popular masses.

What is to be done first to carry out the revolution and construction successfully by depending on the popular masses?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"If we are to successfully carry out the revolution and construction by depending on the masses, we should map out a correct policy reflecting their demands and aspirations and make it their own." (*Ibid.*, p 55)

This can be said to be the first requisite in carrying out the revolution and construction by depending on the popular masses.

The readers may know well that the revolution and construction cannot be carried out in a rule-of-thumb way. A house, however small it may be, cannot be managed without calculation, let alone the grand complicated undertaking of transforming nature and society. Hence a correct policy is needed before anything else.

What, then, should be done to work out the policy which brings the revolution and construction to success without twists and turns?

In a word, one should accurately reflect the demands of the popular masses. Because it is thanks to their efforts that nature is subdued, production promoted and society transformed.

The popular masses who remould nature through their creative labour and transform society through their revolutionary struggle know the actual conditions of the revolution and construction better than anyone else and have a wealth of experience. So, it is indisputable that they have a good knowledge of how to solve the problems arising in the revolution and construction.

Needless to say, the knowledge and experiences of the individuals making up the masses are fragmentary and have this or that kind of limitations. However, it may be related to the urgent problems to be solved in the revolution and construction and supply the clue to the solution of them.

That is why only by paying heed to the aspirations and demands of the broad masses and summing up, analyzing and generalizing them, can a correct policy be mapped out for the revolution and construction. When one fails to take them into consideration in working out a policy, one may commit the subjectivist errors and even if it is established, it will prove nominal in the revolution and construction.

Correct reflection of the demands and aspirations of the masses is indispensable not only for framing a policy in conformity with the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution and construction but also for actively enlisting the creative power and talents of the popular masses through it.

The popular masses carry out the revolution and construction to

satisfy their requirements and desire. Hence, the policy that does not mirror their demands and aspirations properly cannot enlist them in the revolution and construction.

Only when a policy properly reflects their demands and aspirations the masses come to be keenly interested in its implementation and, accordingly, their strength and talents can be geared to the revolution and construction to the full extent

Once a policy is mapped out according to demands and aspirations of the masses, it must be made their own.

The revolution and construction are carried out by the popular masses Hence, if any policy is to be carried out successfully, it must be made their own Even a correct policy is of no use, unless it is grasped and accepted by the masses as their own

A policy does not automatically become the concern of the masses because it reflects their demands and aspirations The knowledge and experience of the individuals making up the popular masses are limited. So, not all of the people come to be well informed spontaneously of the policy which scientifically generalizes and crystalizes the demands and aspirations of all the masses Therefore, if a policy properly reflecting their aspirations and demands is to be made their own, various organizational and political works must be conducted.

In a word, a policy for the revolution and construction must be mapped out according to the desire of the masses and penetrated into them Only then can their inexhaustible strength be utilized successfully for the revolution and construction

Let me take an example

Before the time of the agrarian revolution which was carried out in Korea after liberation, there was no other precedent for it than that the popular masses nationalized land after seizing political power. So, some people thought that the land must be nationalized in disregard of the demands and aspirations of the Korean peasants.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who already in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle had put forward the original idea of the agrarian revolution and gained a valuable experience and produced achievements in carrying it out in the guerrilla bases visited the

villages. He sat face to face with the peasants and heard from them about their desire and aspirations and was well acquainted with how things were in the rural areas. In this course he perceived that it was the life-long desire of the Korean peasants to farm on their own land by their own efforts. He, at last, set forth the original agrarian programme of distributing land gratis to the peasants on the principle of "Land to the Tillers!" instead of nationalizing it.

He also defined the concrete way to implement the agrarian reform in accordance with the will and desire of the Korean peasants.

After formulating the policy of the agrarian reform in keeping with the will and desire of the peasants in this way, he saw to it that they carried out the reform on their own responsibility, thus making it their own concern.

As you know, the agrarian revolution is an extremely difficult and complicated undertaking. Potent proof of this is the fact that in quite a few countries it took a long time and went through turns and twists. But in Korea this difficult and complicated undertaking was successfully carried out in a matter of 20-odd days drawing on the revolutionary enthusiasm of all the peasants, as a result that a correct policy of the agrarian reform was mapped out reflecting the centuries-old desire of the peasants and made their own.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction depending on the popular masses, it is necessary to unite them closely into a single political force.

The strength of the popular masses lies in unity. They have an inexhaustible strength. However, if they are not united into a single political force, they cannot display it.

What, then, is important in uniting the popular masses into a single political force?

It is to win over to the side of the revolution all those who are interested even a bit in the revolution and unite them, while isolating to the utmost a handful of the reactionary elements opposed to the revolution.

This is the principle to be maintained invariably in the revolution and construction.

To bind together the popular masses into a single political force has

nothing in common with an unprincipled unity. The aim of unity, after all, is to carry out the revolution with credit. That is why there can be no unity with those opposed to the revolution. Unprincipled "unity" cannot be called unity. Unprincipled compromise with those opposed to the revolution under the pretext of unity will rather weaken the unity of the masses and, in the long run, bring such grave consequences as to undermine it Therefore, counter-revolutionary elements must be relentlessly isolated

At the same time, we must make the best of our efforts to knit *together all those who are interested in the revolution.*

In his speech made on his triumphal return after having achieved the cause of national liberation, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said that in order to contribute to building a new country, those with strength should give strength, those with knowledge give knowledge and those with money give money

Revolution cannot be carried out by single-handed efforts of any class or social stratum As history has already proved, revolution can be victorious only when the broad masses take part in it It is all the more so *today* when the mass foundation for the revolutionary struggle has expanded as never before

As the readers are aware, today the broad sections of masses have interests in the struggle for anti-imperialism and independence. It involves workers, peasants, intellectuals, honest-minded national capitalists and religious men.

If we are to emerge victorious in the revolution and dynamically push ahead with the building of a new society, we should unite all of them However, it occurs now and then that some self-styled revolutionaries *have the indiscretion to alienate people from the side of the revolution on* this or that "ground" instead of rallying the broad masses. In so doing they certainly think that they alone have revolutionary spirit and that revolution can be carried out without the participation of the masses.

Of course, since the social positions of people are not alike, there can be those who do not take an active part in the revolutionary struggle or waver. If members of a family are not always unanimous, how can tens of millions of people row in the same boat? If one deserts people on one

pretext or another, with whom can one make revolution and for whom? Revolution is for the good of the people and is carried out by the people themselves. If one dismisses people from the revolutionary ranks waywardly, what is the use of making revolution and on what strength can one carry out revolution? If one weans people from the side of revolution on this or that ground, they might go over to the side of reaction, or the reactionaries try to draw them. This will, after all, result in weakening the revolutionary forces.

Therefore, if we are to make revolution, we must educate anyone, however inconsistent and vacillating, and bring him to the side of revolution.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction relying on the masses all the obsolete things standing in the way of innovation must be opposed.

By nature the revolution and construction is the struggle for eliminating the old and creating the new. Hence, the creation of the new and innovations inevitably run up against the resistance of the old. For example, in the nationalization of their industries the new-emerging countries come to meet with the resistance of the imperialists and their stooges. This is a sort of resistance of the old.

The resistance of the old does not always come from among those opposed to revolution. Let me take the anti-illiteracy campaign in the third-world countries for instance. Although some old people there were badly off in the past and stand for revolution, they decline to learn how to write and read, muttering "What is the use of learning for the old people?" This is also a manifestation of the resistance of the old.

Like this, the revolution and construction for creating the new encounter the resistance of the old. This is a reason why we say the revolution and construction is a hard task. If everything goes smoothly without a hitch as one wishes, it will be not difficult to carry out the revolution and construction, and an ideal society can be built simply overnight.

What is especially important in opposing the old is to intensify the struggle against passivism and conservatism.

Passivism and conservatism are an ideological tendency and an

attitude towards work which are afraid to advance daringly, clinging to the obsolete and backward things, and not accepting the new and progressive things. Passivism and conservatism are a serious hindrance to an innovation in the building of a new society. Therefore, only by intensifying the struggle against them can one give full play to the creative power of the popular masses, and bring about uninterrupted innovations and upswing in the building of a new society.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction depending on the masses of the people, widespread mass movements should be launched.

Various difficult and important tasks may crop up on the way of the building of a new society. We can say that a mass campaign constitutes a work method of fulfilling these tasks collectively by utilizing the strength and talents of the broad masses.

In Korea, for instance, the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement was launched in the closing days of the First Five-Year Plan as an all-people movement. Through this movement all the big and small factories across the country turned out machine-tools by their own efforts in a way that each machine makes more machines. As a result, Korea produced more than 13,000 machine-tools only in a year above the target under the state plan.

What, then, is the advantages of the mass movement?

The mass movement is, above all, a creative method of strengthening the unity and cooperation of the masses and giving full play to their inexhaustible strength and talents.

In this movement the broad masses work with a high degree of consciousness as masters of the revolution to achieve the common aim. Thus, people work in firm unity helping and pulling forward each other and bringing their talents and creativity into full play.

The mass movement is a revolutionary method of stepping up the building of a new society through the mass struggle and collective innovations.

In the mass movement involving the broad masses, all the problems are solved through the mass struggle and collective innovations take place. Therefore, in order to achieve good results in the building of a new society

by bringing out the strength and talents of the popular masses, the mass movement should be organized well and developed constantly.

A revolutionary method of work is indispensable for carrying out the revolution and construction depending on the masses.

To lay down a correct method of work is of weighty importance in enlisting the creative power of the masses. Even if a policy is formulated reflecting the demands and aspirations of the popular masses, one cannot actively enlist their strength without a correct method of work. If the method of work of the functionaries who guide the building of a new society is wrong, they cannot make people offer their creative opinions nor bring out their strength and talents. If functionaries shout command at the people and dictate to them peremptorily like bureaucrats in the exploiter society, the masses will not follow them.

What, then, is the correct method of work elucidated by the Juche idea?

It is the method of work that one always goes among the masses in order to have a good grasp of actual condition and find correct solutions to problems, the higher body substantially helps the lower, one gives precedence to political work in all undertakings so as to make the masses work willingly and solves all problems creatively without ceremony in keeping with their specific features and actual conditions. Also, it is the method of work that one shares weal and woe, life and death with the masses, leads them with one's own practical example and induces with modesty, simplicity and generosity the masses to give full play to their creative initiative.

After all, this is a revolutionary and popular method of work of educating and helping the masses well so that they can fulfil their responsibility and play their part with a deep consciousness of their being masters of the building of a new society. So it is called the Juche method of work.

This method is fundamentally opposed to that of working people by money or whip, or the administrative method, the method of command.

To follow the Juche method of work is important before the seizure of power, and much more so after the seizure of power. Because having power in hand those who are still in need of revolutionary self-discipline and training are liable to employ the bureaucratic method of work.

Therefore, one should not neglect the struggle to overcome the bureaucratic method of work manifested among functionaries and to establish the Juche method of work in the period of building a new society. At the same time, the method of work should be steadily improved and perfected in keeping with the developing reality. Only then would it be possible to give full scope to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the masses and thus vigorously push ahead with the building of a new society.

By elucidating the method of depending on the popular masses, the Juche idea furnished an incomparably powerful weapon capable of building a new society successfully by enlisting the inexhaustible strength and talents of the popular masses

2) THE ACTUAL SITUATION MUST BE RECKONED WITH

Even a Good Medicine Must Be Properly Prescribed

Everyone, if not a mere child, knows that even a good medicine must be properly prescribed That is why a doctor closely studies the physical characteristics of patients before prescribing medicine for them, if he is not blind with money-making. Although from the olden times the antler of the deer is prized as a specific medicine for promoting health it must suit one's constitution. Otherwise, it is inefficacious and sometimes rather does harm But one need not worry. The pharmacology indicates what medicine to take and how much for what kind of constitution.

However, it is not easy to carry out the revolution and construction to suit the actual situation, because the revolution and construction are extremely complicated undertakings

The method suitable to the actual situation clarified by the Juche idea gives an answer to this problem.

While the aforesaid method of depending on the popular masses is a

method for enlisting the inexhaustible strength of the masses, the main agency of the socio-historical movement and masters of the revolution and construction, the method suitable to the actual situation is a method for carrying on the revolution and construction in conformity to the specific features of the objects to be remoulded.

This method provides a guideline that enables the people of each country to carry on the revolution and construction in keeping with their interests, specific circumstances and conditions of their country.

Why, then, is it important to build a new society in line with the actual conditions?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The revolutionary movement demands solving all problems in conformity with the changes and development in the reality and the specific conditions of the country." (*Ibid.*, p. 58.)

The method suitable to the actual situation has two contents: one is to solve all problems in keeping with the constantly changing and developing conditions of the time, the other is to solve all problems in conformity with the specific conditions of each country.

This is because conditions of the times in which the revolution and construction take place steadily change and the conditions for the revolution and construction differ from country to country.

In the first place, the revolution and construction in different countries are carried out in different conditions of the time. Because the conditions in which the revolution breaks out and wins do not mature simultaneously in different countries. Each country has its own historical background, so countries are distinguished from one another in socio-economic situation and the political level of the masses. Hence, the revolution cannot break out simultaneously in all countries. Bourgeois revolution, for instance, did not take place simultaneously in all European countries. In England and France it took place in the period from the 17th to the 18th century, but in Russia in the early 20th century. Viewed in the light of the time when they have been waged, the national-liberation struggles in colonies, too, differ with countries.

The time does not stay, but changes and advances ceaselessly. This brings countries different conditions for the revolution and construction.

Therefore, in order to be successful in the revolution and construction, the people of each country should properly assess the changing and developing conditions of the time and solve all the problems to suit them This can be compared to the fact that with the change of season, one should change one's way of life. If we wear summer clothes in winter, we may catch some disease

Let me take the national liberation struggle in colonies for instance to illustrate how the conditions of the time should be reckoned with.

In the past people regarded the revolution in the imperialist suzerain countries as a requisite to the liberation of the colonial people. They said that the task of the colonial people was to render active assistance to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the suzerain countries. Such a view of the national-liberation struggle in colonies had validity for the situation of the time when the conditions for the colonial countries to wage an independent revolutionary struggle were not yet mature.

The conditions of the time have changed considerably since then In our era when all the peoples have risen in the struggle for Chajusong, the conditions have been created for the colonial peoples to achieve liberation by their own efforts In these circumstances, if they keep waiting for the victory of the revolution in suzerain countries without seeing the change of the time what would become of it? Should the colonial peoples remain in fetters of colonial slavery as ever because revolution has not emerged victorious in the imperialist countries except Russia?

It is important, indeed, to carry out the revolution and construction in keeping with the conditions of the times. If one is ignorant of the change of the time, he cannot play a due role, much less carry out a huge task of transforming nature and society.

The revolution and construction can be successful and victorious only when one calculates details of the ceaselessly changing and developing conditions of the times and, on this basis, conducts them.

The revolution and construction in each country are unfolded not only in its specific conditions of the time but also in its specific circumstances.

They are carried out with the national state as the unit, and national

features differ from country to country. Of this I have mentioned previously.

Since the specific conditions for the revolution and construction differ with countries, there can be no recipe fit for all countries. This is like a medicine which, however good, cannot have the same effect on all people.

Of course, the masses' struggle for Chajusong is governed by a general law. For example, the colonial people can achieve liberation only through the armed struggle; the popular masses should become masters of power and means of production in order for them to be masters of the state and society; if the masses are to win a victory in the revolutionary struggle, they should be guided by an outstanding leader. This general law applies to all countries, irrespective of their specific conditions. But its effect is not the same for all countries, but depends on their national peculiarities.

Therefore, if one is to be successful in the revolution and construction, one must always solve all problems in keeping with the actual conditions, proceeding from the specific reality of one's country.

Methods Suitable to the Actual Situation

I have previously remarked that the medicine must be properly prescribed. It is not so difficult. One can find out a medicine fit for one's physical conditions in the course of applying various kinds of medicines. Moreover, even if one takes the medicine, disagreeing with him, it is of no great consequence unless it is lethal.

But it is not so easy to carry on the revolution and construction in conformity with the specific conditions of one's country as to find out medicines suitable to constitution. When the revolution and construction are not conducted in keeping with the actual conditions, it entails an irretrievable grave consequence. History records the bitter lesson that failing to carry on the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions of their country, people suffered enormous sacrifices and eventually made a mess of the revolution and construction. Therefore, it is really an important problem decisive of the destiny of the masses to

find out the correct way to carry out the revolution and construction in keeping with the actual situation.

What, then, should be done?

The Juche idea elucidates that in order to carry on the revolution and construction in keeping with the actual situation, one should correctly assess the specific conditions of one's country and map out the line and policy, strategy and tactics in keeping with them.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"If one is to wage the revolutionary struggle in the way which is suitable to one's own actual situation, one must correctly assess the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution in one's own country and define the line, strategy and tactics in accordance with them." (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.)

Success in the revolution and construction necessitates, first of all, the correct line and policy, strategy and tactics. Regarding this an explanation has been offered previously, so I need not refer to it.

The point is how to map out the correct line and policy, strategy and tactics.

As the Juche idea shows, the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution in one's country should be scientifically analyzed to formulate the correct line and policy, strategy and tactics.

Since the circumstances of the revolution and construction differ from country to country, the subjective and objective conditions for the revolution are different. The preparedness of the internal revolutionary force and the objective conditions for the revolution are also different. And the international environment of the revolution of different countries is not alike. If we fail to assess correctly these subjective and objective conditions of the revolution, we may commit error and cannot map out a correct line and policy. Then the revolution and construction might suffer a great loss in the end. This is just like one who is ignorant of the specific features of one's constitution. One cannot take the medicine agreeable to it and if one takes wrong medicine, it may rather do harm.

Therefore, in order to carry on the revolution and construction successfully it is necessary to make a close assessment of the subjective and objective conditions of one's country and, on this basis, work out the line and policy, strategy and tactics in keeping with them. This may be said to

be the first step to carry out the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions.

However, there is a matter of primary importance in the analysis of the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution.

Setting to work, people often consider various conditions and study what is the most important among them and whether it is available.

Likewise, in the analysis of the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution primary attention must be paid to the most important condition, that is, how the internal revolutionary forces are prepared. This is because the internal revolutionary forces are the decisive factor affecting victory in the revolution. If the internal revolutionary forces are fully prepared, the revolution can emerge victorious, even though the other conditions are somewhat unfavourable.

If more stress is laid on the objective conditions, it will reach the conclusion that one must wait until they are mature. Then one cannot work out the line and policy capable of actively stepping up the revolution and construction. Therefore, when assessing the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution, we should always attach a great importance to the subjective factors, and, on this basis, map out the line and policy, strategy and tactics capable of accelerating the revolution and construction to the maximum.

If we are to carry out the revolution and construction successfully in accordance with our actual conditions, we should properly approach the established theories.

The established theories were born of the revolutionary practice in the former historical periods. Therefore, they cannot be applied to the revolution and construction taking place in the new historical conditions as they are. Quite a few medicines, for instance, were effective 10 years ago, but now they have no effect to speak of. It is quite natural because the physiological conditions of men for medicines as well as resistance of microbes to them may change.

The same is true of the ways of carrying out the revolution and construction. Since the conditions of the time for the revolution and construction have changed, the old ways are not applicable today as they are.

Therefore, in order to carry on the revolution and construction in conformity with one's actual conditions, it is important to correctly approach the established theories.

How, then, to approach the established theories?

As for the established theories, one should always study what era's requirements they reflect and on what revolutionary practice they base themselves and apply them in keeping with one's specific conditions. Ideas and theories without exception came into being, reflecting the requirements of the definite times and on the basis of the revolutionary practice. Marxism, for example, came into being, reflecting the demands of the historical period when the working class that had emerged as an independent political force in the developed European capitalist countries rose up in a struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital. And Leninism was born in Russia, a backward capitalist country, reflecting the demands of the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

Like this, since all the ideas and theories are formulated reflecting the demands of a definite epoch and socio-economic conditions, one must closely analyze the historical conditions which gave rise to the ready-made theories in order to judge whether they are applicable or not and, if possible, how.

In guiding the revolution and construction, one should not depend on the established theories, but on the specific reality of one's country. The point is not whether or not it conforms with the established theories, but whether or not the established theories are applicable to the actual situation of one's country. Of course, if these theories assume significance even today, they should be applied creatively. But one should not think that one must do the way one did. This way of thinking does not accord with the creative nature of the revolutionary struggle.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction in accordance with one's actual conditions, new principles and ways should be actively explored in keeping with new historic conditions and the specific situation of one's country.

With the progress of the revolution and construction in depth new questions constantly arise. Since revolution is a continuous process of eliminating the old and creating the new, it is inevitable that new questions

crop up without interruption as the revolution and construction develop in depth and scope. If new questions do not arise, it tells that the revolution and construction are in stagnation. Hence, if one is to accelerate the revolution and construction steadily, one should eagerly seek the principles and ways of solving the new questions. There can be no practice apart from theory. We cannot advance the revolution and construction without finding out the principles and theories of solving new questions.

Who, then, should find out the principles and ways of solving new questions of revolution in each country? It is, of course, the people of the country concerned. It is the people of each country who ought to and can solve the new questions of revolution in that country. This is because masters of the revolution in each country are the people of that country.

It poses itself as an especially important problem in our age to explore actively new principles and ways of carrying out revolution. With the peoples of all countries participating in the struggle for Chajusong, the revolutionary struggles have become extremely diverse and the revolution has made a long stride in many countries. As a result, a number of new questions have been raised. So, only by actively exploring the principles and ways of solving new questions proceeding from the specific conditions of their country, can the people of each country propel the revolution and construction without interruption.

If one is to carry out the revolution and construction in accordance with one's specific conditions, one should approach others' experience critically and creatively.

The people of each country create various experiences in the revolution and construction. Therefore, they may study the experiences of other countries and take them into account.

Yet, the experiences of others have been created in the specific conditions of their countries. So, some of them are necessary and beneficial to one's country but others are not. This is natural because actual conditions differ with countries. For example, a country which had carried out the revolution under the condition of fairly developed capitalism effected the socialist agricultural cooperation following industrialization. This suited that country's actual situation. Is this experience applicable to the backward colonial countries making revolution? If those

countries are to carry out the agricultural cooperation after industrialization, it may take scores of years. Even industrialization cannot be carried out apace when the dispersed private farming is predominant. Such instances could be easily multiplied.

For this reason we should always approach others' experience critically and creatively One must accept what is beneficial to one among the experiences of others and reject what is not. Even in case one assimilates the useful experiences, one should not swallow them raw, but make good use of them after modifying them to suit one's taste

It is best to create one's own experience and turn it to good account. One's experience is most reliable and acceptable to the masses because it was created on one's own in the actual conditions of one's own country.

This does not mean that introduction of others' experiences is unnecessary It is wrong both to try to copy others' experiences blindly and to refuse to learn from them The point is what viewpoint and stand one should maintain in approaching the experiences of others. The Juche idea is opposed to the dogmatic attitude of indiscriminately worshipping the experiences of others without demonstrating any creativity and swallowing raw what are incompatible with one's actual conditions History showed time and again that in case one approaches and introduces the experiences of others uncritically and dogmatically, he cannot escape failure We must not forget this lesson.

Such is the gist of the methods suitable to the actual situation.

The methods suitable to the actual situation elucidated by the Juche idea serve as a guideline to be firmly maintained at all times by the people of each country to carry out the revolution and construction successfully in their own interests without any failure and vicissitudes

3. THE MAIN STRESS SHOULD BE PLACED ON IDEOLOGY

The principle of placing the main stress on ideology is a guiding principle on which to step up the revolution and construction by bringing up the people to be genuine masters of the future society who have a high level of ideological consciousness and enhancing their role.

This guiding principle stems from the principles that man is a being with consciousness and that the people's consciousness of independence plays a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle as we have seen previously.

The principle of putting the main stress on ideology has two contents: one is to give priority to ideological remoulding and another is to give precedence to political work.

These two tasks are closely related with each other and unified in that they are all designed to place stress on people's ideology, but differ from each other in that they have to do with different problems of the revolution and construction. The former is mainly related to the question of transforming man himself into a powerful being with a high level of ideological consciousness, whereas the latter, to the question of successfully carrying out the struggle to remould nature and society mainly by increasing people's role. Of course, this does not mean that giving priority to ideological remoulding has nothing to do with the question of successfully carrying out the revolution and construction and vice versa.

When ideological remoulding is done well, the revolution and construction make good headway and when political work is done well, the level of people's ideological consciousness rises. But a sharp line can be drawn between ideological remoulding and political work as regards what they are immediately aimed at. So, although they are all designed to place stress

on people's ideology, viewed in the light of contents and methods they differ from each other in many ways.

Now, let us see them.

1) PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO IDEOLOGICAL REMOULDING

Ideological Remoulding Is Most Important

Everyone, no matter who he is, has this or that ideology. As aforesaid, ideology is consciousness which reflects people's requirement and interests. As a matter of fact, there is no man on earth who has not any needs and interests So, there can be no man who has no ideology.

Needless to say, not all the people in the world have well-thought-out ideology or a clear idea of what is their ideology Though they seek their own well-being only, some people feel surprise when they are told that they have capitalist ideology. This shows that not all the people know what ideology they have. Anyhow, people have this or that ideology.

Ideological remoulding is a task to eliminate from the minds of the people the old ideas incompatible with the independent nature of man and equip him with the progressive ideas indispensable to independent and creative man.

Why, then, should ideological remoulding be kept ahead?

Because in order to build the ideal society of humanity in which the Chajusong of the masses is completely realized, it is essential, first of all, to bring up people to be genuine masters of such society.

As seen above, if the Chajusong of the popular masses is to be realized, they should be, above all, free from all forms of exploitation and oppression Therefore, in many countries in the world struggles are being waged to liberate people from exploitation and oppression and this task has already been carried out in some countries.

But liberation of people from exploitation and oppression alone is not sufficient to fully realize the Chajusong of the masses.

If the Chajusong of the masses is to be fully implemented, those free from exploitation and oppression must be rid of fetters of outdated ideas and nature. That is to say, even after liberating people from all sorts of exploitation and oppression, revolution should be continued to remould man himself and transform nature.

What is most important here is to remould man. This is because man is master of society. No matter how highly the productive forces have been developed and how many means of subsistence are produced, the ideal society in which the Chajusong of the masses of the people is fully realized, cannot be built unless people, the operators of society, are transformed.

There are people who think that men's ideology will be remoulded of its own accord if the productive forces are highly developed, but they are mistaken. Some of those who fought well against exploitation and oppression, have lost the revolutionary spirit and are loafing on the job seeking their personal comfort when they have become masters of the state and society and are well off. How can this be explained? Life shows that if the work of remoulding man is neglected, the people will become backward ideologically even though their material living standard is raised with the growth of the productive forces. Change in material living conditions does not make man remould himself of his own accord. Therefore, in order to build the highest ideal society of mankind, it is essential to remould man along with the transformation of nature.

Moreover, it is man who transforms nature and increases production. So the productive forces can be rapidly developed only when he is remoulded. If people become backward ideologically and do not like to work, it is impossible to transform nature and develop the productive forces. This bespeaks that remoulding man is most important for building the highest ideal society of mankind.

That is why priority should be given to the remoulding of man in building the ideal society in which the Chajusong of the masses is fully realized.

Transformation of man means his ideological remoulding.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"The transforming of man in essence means ideological remoulding." (*Ibid*., p. 62.)

If people are to be brought up to be independent and creative beings, they must be equipped with a progressive idea, a high level of scientific and technical knowledge and strong physique. In other words, they must be made harmoniously developed men.

What is most important here is to equip them with a progressive idea, that is, *to remould their ideology. This is because thought determines* men's worth and quality. He who has ample knowledge is not necessarily a respectable man. He who does not work for the good of the people and society and leads an idle life cannot be a good man, however broad knowledge he may have. He who faithfully serves the people and society and devotedly works for the country and the revolution is indeed a good man, even though he has little knowledge.

This does not mean that knowledge *is unnecessary*. One cannot successfully transform nature and society without knowledge of them. *What I mean is that ideology is more important for man, a social being,* than knowledge. Only when man has a sound ideology, can he make good use of his knowledge for the people and society. If one has a bad ideology, one's knowledge rather brings calamities. The readers have perhaps heard that the reactionary scholars in Germany and Japan tested means of mass destruction on living men for their research during World War II. Like this, if one has bad idea, one may use his knowledge in violating the Chajusong of the popular masses.

In a word, ideological remoulding is the key to the transforming of *man. In this sense, the transforming of man, in essence, means ideological* remoulding. Therefore, it can be said that giving priority to ideological remoulding means giving precedence to the transforming of man.

The remnants of outmoded ideology are very conservative and tenacious. A proverb says, "A habit acquired at three will persist to eighty." This means that the bad habit is not easily broken. The same is true of the outdated ideology. Obsolete ideas are not easily eliminated from the minds of people. Obsolete ideas have persisted in the minds of the people through generations in thousands-of-years-long exploiter

In a word, the outlook on the revolution is the view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolutionary struggle for the Chajusong of the masses of the people. It can be said that ideological remoulding boils down to arming people firmly with the outlook on the revolution.

Why? This is because only when one acquires a correct outlook on the revolution, can he become an ardent revolutionary.

Ideological remoulding is aimed at transforming people into ardent revolutionaries. The significance of ideological remoulding is inconceivable apart from the revolution. Independent and creative beings precisely mean those who, equipped with a correct view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolution, fight devotedly for the Chajusong of the popular masses. Those who are not involved in revolution and seek personal comfort only cannot be called independent and creative men. By independent and creative beings we mean those who transform nature and society purposefully in keeping with their own demand. So, those who do not take part in real earnest in the revolutionary struggle for transforming nature and society, cannot be called independent and creative beings. Hence, main stress should be laid on the establishment of outlook on the revolution in ideological remoulding for bringing up people to be independent and creative.

Only when man forms a correct outlook on the revolution, can he analyse and judge all problems from the standpoint of the popular masses and devotedly work in their interests. Only those who have a correct outlook on the revolution can fight indomitably for the freedom and liberation of the people without the slightest vacillation in any adversity. He who is not equipped with correct outlook on the revolution cannot take part in the arduous revolutionary struggle and, even in case he joins it, he will waver or flinch in face of difficulties and ordeals.

The history of the revolutionary struggle of many countries shows that there are quite a few ardent revolutionaries who devoted their lives for the freedom and liberation of the people and who upheld their revolutionary constancy even on the gallows. What is the ideological and mental strength of the revolutionaries who rendered distinguished services? It is their staunch outlook on the revolution. On the contrary, there are the scum of mankind that set out on the road of revolution when the

revolutionary struggle was surging forward but flinched, yielded or turned their coat to save their lives when the revolution was undergoing a hard trial. This is because they were not equipped with the outlook on the revolution. It is true that everyone does not participate in the revolutionary struggle with the outlook on the revolution completely established from the start. In many cases, people establish a firm outlook on the revolution through struggle. Anyhow, they should establish a firm outlook on the revolution Otherwise, they cannot carry on the arduous revolutionary struggle to the end.

What kind of outlook on the revolution should the people and revolutionaries fighting for the Chajusong of the masses have?

They must have the Juche outlook on the revolution Because it is an entirely scientific outlook on the revolution which throws light on the view, viewpoint and attitude regarding the revolution with the popular masses placed in the centre.

Revolution is the undertaking for the masses and of the masses themselves. Therefore, the outlook on the revolution should elucidate the view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolution, placing the masses of people in the centre

Since the Juche outlook on the revolution elucidates the view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolution with the popular masses placed in the centre, it enables people to study and judge all the problems of the revolution and construction from the standpoint of the masses and firmly defend their interests

This outlook encourages people to boldly take part in the struggle for the masses

There are people who do justice to the revolution and support it inwardly but do not dare to join the revolutionary struggle. Why? This is mainly because they lack the consciousness of being masters of the revolution and faith in victory.

The Juche revolutionary outlook which was evolved with the masses placed in the centre implants in the minds of people the consciousness of their being masters of the revolution and faith in victory in the revolution, however arduous it may be, and thus leads them to the lofty path of revolution.

In a word, the outlook on the revolution is the view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolutionary struggle for the Chajusong of the masses of the people. It can be said that ideological remoulding boils down to arming people firmly with the outlook on the revolution.

Why? This is because only when one acquires a correct outlook on the revolution, can he become an ardent revolutionary.

Ideological remoulding is aimed at transforming people into ardent revolutionaries. The significance of ideological remoulding is inconceivable apart from the revolution. Independent and creative beings precisely mean those who, equipped with a correct view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolution, fight devotedly for the Chajusong of the popular masses. Those who are not involved in revolution and seek personal comfort only cannot be called independent and creative men. By independent and creative beings we mean those who transform nature and society purposefully in keeping with their own demand. So, those who do not take part in real earnest in the revolutionary struggle for transforming nature and society, cannot be called independent and creative beings. Hence, main stress should be laid on the establishment of outlook on the revolution in ideological remoulding for bringing up people to be independent and creative.

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When mentioning this outlook we should bear in mind an important question—a question regarding loyalty to the leader.

Loyalty to the leader constitutes the core of the Juche revolutionary outlook. Previously we dealt with the question of the position and role of the leader in the struggle for the Chajusong of the masses. That loyalty to the leader constitutes the core of the Juche revolutionary outlook is precisely related to the position and role of the leader in the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary cause for the Chajusong of the masses is started by the leader and led to victory under his guidance. Therefore, in order to be faithful to the revolution, one should, above all, uphold the leadership of the leader with devotion. Whether one is a revolutionary with a firm outlook on the revolution or not is strikingly manifested in his loyalty to the leader. It is no more than an empty talk to speak about loyalty to the revolution apart from loyalty to the leader. Historical experience shows that those who are faithful to the leader remain true to the revolution in any adversity, but those who are otherwise eventually are degraded into betrayers of the revolution without exception. Therefore, loyalty to the leader is the touchstone by which to test whether one is a true revolutionary or not, and the core of the Juche outlook on the revolution.

The Juche revolutionary outlook whose core is loyalty to the leader provides an ideological weapon for making people ardent revolutionaries.

Seen in this light, only those who are armed with this outlook can say proudly that they are revolutionaries.

What is to be done to acquire the outlook on the revolution, then?

To this end one should, in the first place, arm oneself firmly with the revolutionary ideas and theory.

The readers must perhaps have the experience of walking along the mountain path. Finding oneself in the valley, one cannot see which road to take because of the limited range of vision. But once atop of a mountain he can easily find out his way, commanding an open view. The revolutionary ideas and theory illumine the road of revolution and ways and means to carry it out. If one is ignorant of the revolutionary ideas and theory, he cannot find out the straight path of the revolution, just as he can hardly find his way to go in the valley. But, if one has them, he can find out the

correct way to the revolution, just as one can find out his way atop of a mountain. If one is ignorant of the revolutionary ideas and theory, he will have no vista of the revolution, lose his faith and become dispirited. But when he acquires them, he will have a clear vista of the revolution and, accordingly, faith and courage. This shows that arming oneself with the revolutionary ideas and theory holds a very important place in the establishment of the view, viewpoint and attitude on the revolution.

If one is to establish the outlook on the revolution, one should have the lofty revolutionary spirit.

This spirit is an infinite devotion to the Party and the leader, the country and the people, a burning hatred for the enemy of the revolution and the spirit of fighting indomitably without foresaking one's revolutionary principle in any adversity. It is a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance of solving all problems on one's own, braving all difficulties and hardships, and a strong sense of organization and discipline. Only when one has such a lofty revolutionary spirit, can he be a genuine revolutionary equipped with a correct outlook on the revolution.

I have so far referred to the need of arming oneself with the revolutionary ideas and theory and of having the lofty revolutionary spirit in order to establish a correct outlook on the revolution. When it is satisfied, we can say that one has acquired a correct revolutionary outlook.

What yardstick should be applied to judge whether one has established a revolutionary outlook or not?

Ideological consciousness is not visible nor tangible. So, whether one has a correct outlook on the revolution or not is to be proved only through revolutionary practice. The revolutionary practice is a powerful means of ideological remoulding and, at the same time, a criterion which can be used to prove people's ideology. People's thought is fully revealed through practice. Apart from practical action it is impossible to verify and appraise people's thought.

The revolutionary practice of those who struggle for the *Chajusong* of the masses means their endeavours to put into effect the leader's ideas and the lines and policies, their embodiment. That is why the practical struggle for implementing the leader's ideas and the lines and policies, their

embodiment, is a sole yardstick for verifying the people's thought and their outlook on the revolution. In other words, he who dedicates his all to the struggle for implementing the leader's ideas and the lines and policies, their embodiment, can be said to be a man with a correct outlook on the revolution, and vice versa.

There is another point which we should pay our attention to in appraising whether one has a firm outlook on the revolution or not. Man's ideology is revealed particularly at a time of severe trials.

When things go well, people usually do not reveal their true nature. There are people who behave themselves in ordinary circumstances as if they were ready to sacrifice themselves for others, but turn tail first in moments of danger. Therefore, people's true colours can be seen clearly at a hard time. A man can be called a genuine revolutionary with a firm outlook on the revolution only when he remains true to his revolutionary principles and guards his constancy in any adversity even at the cost of his life and invariably follows the path of revolution for the country and the people through thick and thin. What, then, are the specific ways to establish the revolutionary outlook?

If one is to have a correct outlook on the revolution, one must, above all, apply himself to revolutionary studies.

Comprehension of the revolutionary ideas and theory is essential for the establishment of a correct outlook on the revolution. They are not acquired of themselves but through studying. Without studying one would not be able to understand the law governing the revolutionary struggle nor have a high level of revolutionary vision. Therefore, in order to become a genuine revolutionary with a correct outlook on the revolution, one must regard studying as his first and foremost task and regularly study hard.

One should continue to study all one's life. This is because one cannot assimilate the revolutionary ideas and theory through occasional study and they continue to develop with the ceaseless change and development of the revolutionary practice.

Studying should not be merely aimed at gaining knowledge. Rich knowledge does not mean establishing a firm outlook on the revolution. What is learned through studying must be turned into one's conviction.

Only then can one carry out his duty as a revolutionary in whatever circumstances.

In order to have a correct outlook on the revolution, one must lead a faithful revolutionary organizational life.

Without revolutionary organization, it is hardly possible to carry out the revolutionary struggle. Since the strength of the popular masses is in unity, the united strength can be displayed only when the masses are rallied in the revolutionary organization. Therefore, all revolutionaries live and fight, affiliated with a definite revolutionary organization.

Revolutionary organization, a weapon for the revolutionary struggle, is a school of revolutionary training for bringing up people to be revolutionaries. People learn the revolutionary ideas and theory through the revolutionary organizational life and are trained through the practical struggle to carry out what is entrusted and assigned to them by their organizations. Apart from the organizational life, people would not be able to become revolutionaries nor preserve political integrity. One's physical life is inherited from his parents, but his political integrity is *obtained and glorified through organizational life. Therefore, in order to* be a true revolutionary firm in an outlook on the revolution, one must lead a faithful organizational life.

If one is to be a genuine revolutionary with an outlook on the revolution, one must train oneself in the revolutionary practice.

Old sayings which go that "Spare the rod and spoil the child" and that "Hard life in youth is more precious than gold" mean that if one is to become a capable man one must taste sweets and bitters of life.

Of course, these sayings do not refer to the importance of the revolutionary practice, but contain the truth that one must accumulate the experience of life to become a man worthy of the name.

The revolutionaries are tempered ideologically and purposefully and acquire the revolutionary qualities and traits in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Through the revolutionary practice people come to heighten their consciousness of being masters of the revolution, stiffen their resolve to fight against the enemies of the revolution to the end, acquire the methods of the revolutionary struggle.

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The revolutionaries are tempered ideologically and purposefully and acquire the revolutionary qualities and traits in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Through the revolutionary practice people come to heighten their consciousness of being masters of the revolution, stiffen their resolve to fight against the enemies of the revolution to the end and acquire the methods of the revolutionary struggle.

Such is the gist of the principle of giving priority to ideological remoulding elucidated by the Juche idea.

This principle provides a guide for making people independent and creative beings, masters of ideal society of communism in which the Chajusong of the popular masses is fully realized and for bringing them up to be lofty revolutionaries who dedicate their lives to the revolution for the sake of the country and the people.

2) PRECEDENCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO POLITICAL WORK

People's Hearts Should Be Touched First

The countries which are building a new society today are confronted with many tasks, such as progressive socio-economic reforms and the building of the economy, culture and defences.

What, then, is the key to the successful execution of these vast tasks?

The principle of giving priority to political work elucidated by the Juche idea gives an answer to this question.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"For a successful implementation of the revolutionary tasks, political work aimed at educating and rousing the people into action, should be given priority over all other work." (*Ibid.*, p. 67.)

Political work is aimed at educating and rousing the people into action. For the successful building of a new society, political work should be given priority over all other work.

Since the building of a new society is carried out by the people, the work among the people should, above all, be conducted well for building a new society successfully. Where there is a will, there is a way. So, it is essential to move people before anything else. Success in building a new society can be said to depend, after all, on the work among the people. The work among the people is nothing less than a political work. Therefore, for

the successful building of a new society, priority should be given to political work.

What, then, does it mean to give precedence to political work?

It means equipping the people with a correct line and policy and bringing their revolutionary zeal and creativity into play before all other work so that they themselves may carry out their work with a deep consciousness. In short, it means moving people ideologically by firing their hearts whatever they may do.

Revolution is, by nature, a voluntary struggle. One makes revolution neither on orders from others nor to obtain remuneration One is motivated to stage a revolution by one's own political belief and self-consciousness How can people wage the revolutionary struggle, which is so arduous and sometimes requires sacrifices, on orders from others or for money?

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle organized and led by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, a woman fighter joined the guerrilla unit for the revolution, leaving her baby by the fence of other's. Can anybody do such a thing on orders from others or for money? Absolutely not. She was a mother with a warm heart How could not she have affection for her child? She must have loved her child more than anybody else. But she did so, because she was ready to make revolution for the country and the people, for the building of a new world where all the children would lead a happy life, even if she were to leave her own flesh behind.

The creative power of the popular masses in building a new society depends on their ideological level. Once people are aroused ideologically, they are equal to any tasks, whatever difficult and immense they may be Therefore, in order to successfully build a new society, one should firmly adhere to the principle of heightening the level of self-consciousness and activeness of the people by giving priority to political work.

Many countries of the world are now building socialism and advancing towards it. Giving precedence to political work is a requirement emanating from the nature of the socialist system

In exploiter society there can be no political work designed to educate and activate the people. Because this society provides no socio-economic

conditions for arousing the self-consciousness of the people. Exploiter society is a society for a handful of exploiters and a society where all the material and cultural wealth created by the popular masses fall into their hands, so that the people do not work with spontaneous enthusiasm.

In exploiter society where the people's self-consciousness cannot be aroused, people are moved to action by the rod and money. In slaveholding society slaves worked under the lash of whip to escape death and in capitalist society people cannot but work to escape starvation.

Socialist society is quite different from exploiter society. Since socialist society is a society where the popular masses are masters of the state and society, there everything serves the masses. Therefore, in this society people work with willing enthusiasm. Herein lies the essential superiority of the socialist system.

In socialist society where the popular masses work with spontaneous enthusiasm there is no need of moving the people by the rod and money and they must not. If they are used to rouse the people into action, it will chill their voluntary enthusiasm and make them mercenary.

In socialist society political work is the basic means of moving the people to action. Needless to say, in the transition period when a good many remnants of the outmoded ideology survive in the minds of people, control by the law is necessary and the application of principle of material incentive needed to some degree. However, these cannot be the basic means.

Only when priority is given to political work in socialist society, will it be possible to push ahead with the revolution and construction energetically by arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the people.

The Way to Do Political Work Well

As seen above, giving priority to political work is of great importance for building a new society.

What, then, is the principle to be adhered to in giving precedence to political work?

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il said:

"As the leader instructed, administrative and business affairs and technical and economic work should be correctly combined with political work while giving precedence to the latter." (*Ibid.*, p. 68.)

Political work is designed to educate and rouse the people into action; administrative and business affairs are to organize and plan a work and control and guide its execution in an administrative way; and technical and economic work involves technical guidance, equipment care, material supplies, financial control and the like.

In order to build socialism successfully, administrative and business affairs, technical and economic work should be correctly combined with political work while giving precedence to the latter.

In the first place, definite precedence should be given to political work. Everything is done by man So, any progress in administrative and business affairs, technical and economic work will be of no use, if man is not roused into action Since they are done by man, they will be carried out successfully only when man is roused into action

Proper political work alone brings about no solution of all problems.

Socialist society can be managed only when all work is done in an organized and planned way

In capitalist society production is effected chaotically by capitalists for money-making. This is called anarchy of capitalist production and this causes crises.

But socialist society fundamentally differs from capitalist society In socialist society where the means of production are placed under public ownership, in the economic life, for instance, production, circulation and consumption are all organized and planned. Otherwise the economic life of the country will come to a standstill at once The socialist economy which is aimed at freeing the people from the fetters of nature and providing them with the bountiful material and cultural life develops on the basis of modern science and technology Under these circumstances, if administrative and business affairs, technical and economic work are conducted poorly, the revolutionary zeal of the people will not have great effect, even if it is aroused Nothing can be done with enthusiasm alone

Therefore, in order to build socialism successfully, administrative

and business affairs, technical and economic work should be by all means properly combined with political work while giving priority to the latter.

Another principle to be adhered to in giving priority to political work is to combine political and moral incentive with material incentive while placing the main emphasis on the former.

Political and moral incentive means, in plain words, appreciating people's achievements politically and morally so that they may work with a greater zeal for the country and the people. In Korea, for instance, those who have rendered distinguished services for the country and the people, are awarded various titles of honour including the title of Labour Hero or given an official commendation.

Material incentive means, in a word, appreciating the result of labour materially. In other words, pay (so-called salary in some countries) is given according to the quality and quantity of work done and prize awarded when the production plan is overfulfilled or a new technical invention made.

Why should we place the main emphasis on political and moral incentive, then?

This derives from the nature of the socialist system. In socialist society all its members work creatively for the country and the people, for society and the collective helping and pulling each other forward, because they are masters of the state and society. This is the essential superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system in which people cannot but work to eke out a living. This is one of the major reasons why under socialism the economy continuously develops at a high rate.

Therefore, in order successfully to build socialism, the political and moral incentive should be strengthened to make the people keenly realize that there is nothing more glorious than to work with devotion for the country and the people and it is the bounden duty of the people, masters of the country.

What, then, is the need of material incentive?

It is associated with the transitional character of socialist society. There still remain a good many survivals of old society in socialist

society. People retain various sorts of remnants of the outmoded ideology including selfishness of seeking personal interests only. In socialist society the productive forces are not yet so highly developed that the means of subsistence cannot be distributed according to needs and there are still differences in labour conditions. What if the material incentive is ignored under these circumstances and products are distributed on an equalitarian basis, regardless of the quantity of the work done and the distinctions between heavy and light labour? Then the people who retain the survivals of the old ideas will work little and shun hard work as far as possible. If the material incentive is ignored, socialist construction, after all, cannot be carried out successfully. That is why in socialist society the material incentive must not be ignored.

The main stress should in all cases be placed on the political and moral incentive in combining this with the material incentive. Neglecting political and moral incentive and placing the main stress on the material incentive run counter to the nature of the socialist system. This fosters selfishness among the people and makes them mercenary and acquisitive, and eventually may bring serious consequences of impairing the socialist system.

Only when the main stress is placed on the political and moral incentive and this is combined with the material incentive properly, will it be possible to stimulate the people into demonstrating conscious zeal in work with a high level of consciousness of being masters of building a new society.

The society in which the state entirely takes care of the people's life with a sense of responsibility and whose members all work devoting all their talents and efforts, not for their own comfortable life but only for the country's prosperity and development and the people's happiness—this is the genuine socialist society

How should political work be conducted, then?

Political work should be done through persuasion and education

It can be said that persuasion and education, in plain terms, is designed to reason with and admonish people patiently so that they may do the set task of their own accord in real earnest and creatively with a clear understanding of its importance.

Why should political work be done through persuasion and education?

This is because political work is work among people, work to rouse their ideology. No methods can rouse people's ideology than persuasion and education. The bureaucratic method of ordering people and shouting commands at them never rouses the conscious zeal of people. Issuing orders and commands cannot bring people into action properly. Even in case they are activated, they work unwillingly. It is impossible to compel people to do things properly.

Political work should be done by applying various forms and methods. Political work is for the masses. Therefore, political work is conducted among the people at different levels and with different characteristics who work under different conditions and circumstances. It is conducted for the workers working at factories, peasants in the fields and office workers in the office. Workers are not all alike. Among them are coal miners working underground, those felling trees in the mountains and railway workers boarding a train. What is more, the people, the object of political work, differ in age, the level of knowledge, taste and character.

Under these circumstances, there cannot be a set pattern in political work. Therefore, it must always be conducted in a way which is suitable to the actual situation with diverse forms and methods and in an effective and positive way. Only then will political work be effective and grip the hearts of people.

Political work should be done in such a way that the masses regard it as their own affairs.

Since political work is work to educate and rouse broad sections of the masses into action, it cannot be done with the efforts of only a few people. A few people can neither educate so many people and rouse them into action nor do it in keeping with the actual conditions and their characteristics.

Therefore, political work should be made the concern of the masses themselves by enlisting in this work as many people as possible and applying the method of one person rousing ten persons into action, ten a hundred and a hundred a thousand through education. This makes it possible to educate the broad masses of people and rouse them into action

and conduct political work in accordance with the actual conditions and their characteristics

Political work should be closely combined with revolutionary practice.

The objective of political work is to carry out the revolutionary tasks successfully. Therefore, one should not conduct political work apart from practice and political work for political work's sake. The success in this work must find expression in the actual result and must be appraised by it. Political work which is alien to the revolutionary tasks and which is not helpful to the building of a new society is futile

The principle of giving priority to political work is a guide which renders it possible to successfully solve all problems arising in building a new society by giving full play to the inexhaustible creative power of the popular masses

CONCLUSION

I started writing this book late in autumn when scarlet-tinged leaves were rustling in the cool wind. Now the rigorous winter is over and the spring has come.

Spring brings blossoms to the gaunt branches of trees and clothes the vast fields with verdure. So, people call it the season of revival for everything.

But spring brings no joy to those who have nothing to live for nor any hope for the future. As the change of seasons is a law of nature, spring came round in due course of time in the past, too, adorning fields and hills with all sorts of flowers. But it gave no joy to those who lived without any hope. How many people died cursing the hard lives they had lived in those spring days when flowers were in full bloom and skylarks trilled!

As long as people have no hope for the future, they cannot find the joy of resuscitation in spring even if the whole land is spread with flowers.

The immortal Juche idea opened up a broad avenue for the people to carve out their future full of hope, converting the spring which the downtrodden people used to greet in grief in the past into a spring of hope and revival.

Thus, the Juche idea is spreading rapidly among the progressive people.

Ideology can never be imposed on people. When it is in keeping with the demands of times and the aspirations and desire of people, it spreads of its own accord, not by order or coercion.

Just as no wintry wind can stop the coming of spring, so no force can prevent the propagation of an ideology which expresses the aspirations of times and people. Progressive ideas cannot be shackled, nor locked up behind bars nor suppressed by bayonets. History witnessed tens of

thousands of people laying down their lives in defence of progressive ideas which expressed the aspirations of people.

The Juche idea has brought people the high consciousness that they are masters of the world and showed the right path for them to hew out their destinies by their own efforts. For this the Juche idea is spreading to the five continents with great attraction and influence

The validity and unfailing vitality of the Juche idea have already been proved fully by the people's struggle for Chajusong.

Practice is the yardstick of truth and the touchstone by which to test the correctness of theories. Severe revolutionary practice brings to light the true nature of all ideas and theories, as a calm judge of their validity So, in the course of revolutionary practice the ideas incompatible with the aspirations of people and lagging behind the march of times will fall out of the arena of history and only such ideas as suit the aspirations of the people will come to stay in their hearts

The correctness and unbreakable might of the Juche idea have been fully substantiated by the practice of the Korean revolution over half a century or more and by the life of the peoples advancing along the road of anti-imperialism and independence

If any one sincerely wishes the freedom and happiness of the popular masses or if he wants, at least, to be true to the dictate of his consciousness as an honest man, he should take the road indicated by the Juche idea

Only the road shown by the Juche idea will lead to the well-being of the people and bring an eternal life to independent man.

The Juche idea pushes forward history dynamically, wiping out everything obsolete and reactionary that tramples on the Chajusong of the masses.

People see in the immortal Juche idea a new flowering world where their desire is fully realized.